THE

HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN,

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN.

By ALEXANDER DOW, Esq.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

HINDOSTAN.

OMAR.

IN the history of Sidder Jehan of Guzerat, we are informed that, the day after the death of Alla, Cafoor assembled the Omrahs, and produced a spurious testament of the deceased King, in which he had appointed Omar, Alla's youngest son, his successor, and Cafoor himself regent during the prince's minority, setting aside the right of primogeniture in the person of Chizer, and the other princes. Omar, then in the seventh year of his age, was placed on the throne, and Cafoor began his administration. The first step which the traitor took, was to send a person to Gaulier, to put out the eyes of the princes Chizer and Shadi. His orders were inhumanly executed; and the Sultana, their mother, was put into closer confinement, and all her wealth seized. Mubarick, the third son of Alla, was also taken into custody, with an intention to have his

Omar placed upon the throne by Cafoor.

A. D. 1316. Hig. 716.

his eyes put out, like his unhappy brothers. There is ridicule in what we are to relate. Cafoor, though an eunuch, married the mother of Omar, the late Emperor's third wife. But the mother of Mubarick, Alla's second wife, having heard that the regent intended to put out the eyes of her son, acquainted Nizam of her intelligence, and he gave her some hopes that the threatened misfortune should be prevented.

Sends to put out the eyes of Mubarick.

Cafoor, in the mean time, to cloak his wicked designs, placed the young King every day upon the throne, and ordered the nobles to pay their respects, as usual, to the Emperor. He sent one night some assassins to cut off the prince Mubarick; but when they entered his apartment, he conjured them to remember his father, whose servants they were; then untying a string of rich jewels from his neck, which perhaps had more influence than his intreaties, he gave it them. They immediately abandoned their purpose; but quarrelling about the division of the jewels, when they had got out, it was proposed to carry them to the chief of the foot-guards, and acquaint him of what the Prince had said, and of their instructions from Cafoor.

Assassinated.

The commander of the foot-guards, who owed every thing to the favour of the deceased King, was shocked at the villany of Cafoor, and finding his people of the same sentiments, he immediately formed a conspiracy against the tyrant, and accordingly he and his lieutenant entered the regent's apartment, a few hours after, and assassinated him, with some of the principal eunuchs, who were attached to his interest. This happened thirty-five days after the Emperor Alla's death, and thus the world was rid of a monster too horrid to exist among mankind.

Mubarick ascends the throne.

When, with the return of day, the transactions of the night became public, they gave general

neral satisfaction. The prince Mubarick was released from his confinement, and had the reins of government placed in his hands. He however did not immediately assume the throne, but acted for the space of two months as regent or vizier for his brother, till he had brought over the nobles to his interest. He then claimed his birthright to the diadem, deposed his brother, and acceded to the imperial dignity. But, according to the barbarous custom and policy of those days, he deprived Omar of his eyes, and confined him for life in the fort of Gualier, after he had borne the title of King for three months and some days. A.D. 1317. Hig. 717.

MUBARICK I.

Mubarick's cruelty and ingratitude.

UPON the seventh of Mohirrim, in the year seven hundred and seventeen of the Higera, Mubarick* mounted the throne. The commander of the foot-guards, who had saved his life, and raised him to the imperial dignity, as also his lieutenant, were ungratefully and inhumanly put to death by his orders, under no better pretence than that they presumed too much upon the services they had done him. It is probable he was instigated to this base action by his fears, as, in some measure, appears by his immediately dispersing all the old soldiers, who were under their command, into different parts of the country. Mubarick began to dispense his favours among the nobles, but he disgusted them all by raising some of his slaves to that dignity.

Promotions at court.

Dinar Shenapil was dignified with the title of Ziffer. Moula, the Emperor's uncle, received the name of Shere, and Malana Zea, that of Sidder Jehan. In the mean time Kerabeg was made one of the counsellors of state; and Hassen one of his slaves, the son of a seller of rags at Guzerat, received the title of Chusero, and through the King's unnatural affection for him, became the greatest man in the empire. He was appointed to the command of the armies of Cafoor and Chaja, those joint conquerors of the Decan, and at the same time to the honour of the office of Vizier, without any one good quality to recommend him to those high employs.

The

* Cuttub-ul-dien, Mubarick Shaw Chilligi.

No: 1488

The emperor, whether to affect popularity, or in remembrance of his late situation, ordered all the prisons to be opened, by which means seventeen thousand were blessed with the light of day, and all the exiles were by proclamation recalled. He then commanded to give to the army a present of six months pay, and conferred upon them many other private benefits. He at the same time issued orders to give free access to all petitioners. He eased the petitioners of some of their taxes; but by too much relaxing the reins of government, disorder and tumult arose, which threw down to the ground the great fabrick raised by his father Alla. He gave himself up entirely to wine, revelry, and lust. These vices became fashionable at court, from whence the whole body of the people were soon infected.

A. D. 1317. Hig. 717. The Emperor affects popularity.

Mubarick, in the first year of his reign, sent an army, under the command of the famous Moultani, into the province of Guzerat, which had revolted. Moultani was an Omrah of great abilities. He soon defeated the insurgents, cut off their chiefs, and settled the country in peace. The King conferred the government of Guzerat upon Ziffer, whose daughter he had taken in marriage. Ziffer soon after marched his army to Narwalla, the capital of Guzerat, where some disturbances had happened, reduced the rebels, confiscated their estates, and sent their moveable wealth to the King.

Guzerat reduced,

Mubarick, in the second year of his reign, raised a great army, and marched towards the Decan, to chastise Hirpaldeo, the son-in-law of Ramdeo, who, by the assistance of the other princes of the Decan, had recovered his country. Mubarick at his departure appointed Shahin, the son of a slave, to whom he gave the title of Offa Beg, governor of Delhi, during his absence. When he arrived near Deogire, Hirpaldeo and the

and the Decan.

A. D. 1318. Hig. 718. the other princes, who were then besieging the place, fled. But some Omrahs being ordered to pursue Hirpaldeo, he was brought back prisoner, flea'd alive, and beheaded. His head was fixed above the gate of his own capital. The Emperor ordered his garrisons to be re-established as far as the sea, and built a mosque in Deogire, which still remains. He then appointed one of his father's slaves to command in the Decan. He, in imitation of Alla, gave his catamite Chusero the ensigns of royalty, sending him towards Malabar with part of his army, then returned himself to Delhi.

A conspiracy. Assid, son to the Emperor's grand-uncle, seeing the King daily drunk, and negligent of all the duties of a king or commander, began to entertain thoughts of the empire, and formed a conspiracy against his life. This plot however was discovered by one of the conspirators, and Assid was condemned to death. Whether Mubarick had found proofs that his brothers were concerned in this conspiracy, we cannot learn, but at that time he sent an assassin to Gualier, and these two unfortunate blind princes were inhumanly murdered, and the fair Dewildè brought to the royal Haram.

The Emperor abandons himself to every species of vice. Mubarick, finding himself in quiet possession of all the kingdoms of India, abandoned those popular manners which he at first affected, and grew perverse, proud, vindictive, and tyrannical, despising all counsel, ill-treating all his friends, and executing every thing, however bloody or unjust, by his obstinate, blind, arbitrary will. Ziffer, the imperial governor of Guzerat, among others, fell a victim to his tyranny, and also Offa Beg, upon whom he had heaped such favours, without any plausible pretence against either. He was infamous, in short, in every vice that can taint the human mind, and descended so far from the

the royal character, as to dress himself often like a common prostitute, and go with the public women to dance at the houses of the nobility. At other times, he would lead a gang of those abominable prostitutes, stark naked, along the terraces of the royal palaces, and oblige them to make water upon the nobles as they entered the court. These, and such other vices and indecencies too shocking to mention, were the constant amusement of this monster in the form of a man. A. D. 1318. Hig. 718.

After the death of Ziffer, Hissam, uncle to the famous slave Chusero, who was also one of the Emperor's catamites, in the absence of the detestable slave, obtained the regency of Guzerat, where he had not been established long, till, in confederacy with a few nobles, he rebelled; but the other Omrahs of Guzerat rising in arms, defeated him, and sent him prisoner to Delhi, where he was not only pardoned, but permitted to resume his place in the King's favour; Odgi being sent to Guzerat in his stead. About this time news arrived, that Eclikki, governor of the Decan, had rebelled. The Emperor sent a great army to suppress that insurrection, who found means to seize the rebel and his principal adherents, and to send them to Delhi, where Eclikki had his ears cut off, and the others were put to the torture. The gallant Moultani was advanced to the viceroyship of the Decan. Several insurrections quashed.

Chusero, who had gone to Malabar, stayed there about one year. He plundered the country of about one hundred and twenty elephants, a perfect diamond of 168 Ruttys, with other jewels and gold to a great amount. His ambition was increased by his wealth, and he began to aspire to the throne. Not being able to join to his interest any of the great officers of his army, he formed the means of their destruction. For Chusero aspires to the throne.

A. D. 1319. Hig. 719.

this purpose he called one Tilbiga from the government of the island of Koohe, Timur and Malleck Affghan, who were on different services, and gave out that he had orders to return to Delhi. These nobles, having intelligence of his intentions, disobeyed his commands, and wrote a remonstrance to the Emperor, accusing Chusero of a conspiracy against the state. Mubarick, on this, ordered them to seize him, and send him prisoner to Delhi, which accordingly they found means to execute. But when he came before the King, he pleaded his own innocence so artfully, and blamed his accusers with such plausibility of truth, that the Emperor believing the whole proceeded from the disgust of their being commanded by his favourite, he recalled them; and notwithstanding they gave undoubted proofs of their assertions, he was determined to listen to nothing against this vile catamite.—He dishonoured them, confiscated all their estates, turning them out to poverty and the world. The other Omrahs, seeing that the enemies of Chusero, right or wrong, were devoted to destruction, the men of the best principles among them made excuses, and obtained leave to retire to distant parts of the empire; while the abandoned to all honour joined themselves to the catamite, who was now the object of universal dread, as well as the source of all benefits and promotion. This slave, in the mean time, cherished his own ambitious views, and began again to form measures for his own advancement.

Chusero continues his designs.

To accomplish this purpose, he told the king, "That as his own fidelity and services had been by his Majesty so generously rewarded, and as he might still have occasion for them in the conduct of his military affairs, while the Omrahs, from the pride of family, were seditious and disobedient to his commands, he begged that he might be

be permitted to call some of his relations from Guzerat, in whom he could more certainly confide." Mubarick agreed to this request; and Chusero sent a great sum of money, by some of his agents, to Guzerat, who collected about twenty thousand of the dregs of the people, and brought them to Delhi. Every place of profit and trust were conferred upon those vermin, which bound them fast to Chusero's interest; and also upon all the villains about the city, who were remarkable for their boldness and address. A.D. 1319. Hig. 720.

The Emperor, in the mean time, going to hunt towards Jirsava, a plot was formed to assassinate him. But this was laid aside, on account of some difference in opinion among the conspirators: and therefore they resolved to perform their tragedy in the palace. Mubarick returned to Delhi, and, according to custom, gave himself up to his debaucheries. Chusero was warm in his project, and took the opportunity of a favourable hour to beg leave of Mubarick to entertain his friends in the outer court of the palace. The Emperor not only consented, but issued orders to give them free access at all times; by which means the courts of the palace became crowded with those vermin. In the mean time, the Casi Zea, who was famous for his skill in astrology, though upon this occasion, we imagine, he consulted his own judgement and not the stars, ran into the presence, and kissed the ground. "O King," said he, "Chusero is concerting means for your assassination. If this should prove false, his honesty will be the better established; if otherwise, caution is necessary, because life is a most inestimable jewel." Mubarick smiled at the old man, who had been one of his preceptors, and told him, he would make inquiry into that affair: while instantly Chusero entered in a female Conspires against the Emperor's life.

A. D. 1321. Hig. 721.

male dress, with all the affectations of a girl. The Emperor, upon seeing the infamous catamite, repeated a verse to this effect: "If my beloved were guilty of ten thousand crimes, one smile from him and I forget them all." He then embraced Chusero, and actually did forget all that the Casi had said.

The old Casi murdered.

That night, as the Casi was suspicious of treason, he could not go to rest, but walked out about midnight, to see whether the guards were watchful. In their rounds, he met Mundul, uncle to Chusero, who engaged him in conversation. In the mean time, one Jaherba came behind him, and, with one stroke of a sword, stretched him upon the ground, leaving him only strength to cry out, "Treason! Treason! Murder and treason are on foot!" while two servants, who attended him, run off, screaming aloud, that the Casi was assassinated. The guards started up in confusion, but they were instantly attacked by the conspirators, and massacred, before they could prepare for their own defence.

The Emperor assassinated.

The Emperor, alarmed by the noise, asked Chusero, who lay in his apartment, the cause of it. The villain arose to inquire, and going out on the terrace, stood for some time, and returning told the king, that some of the horses belonging to the guard had broke loose from their picquets, and were fighting, while the people were endeavouring to lay hold of them. This satisfied Mubarick for the present; but, soon after, the conspirators having ascended the stairs, and got upon the terraces which led to the royal sleeping apartment, they were stopped by Ibraham and Ishaac, with all the porters of the private chambers, whom they immediately put to the sword. The Emperor, hearing the clash of arms and groans of dying men so near him, rose up in great terror and confusion, running towards the Haram,

ram, by a private passage. Chusero, fearing he might escape, rushed close after him, and seizing him by the hair in the gallery, struggled with him for some time. Mubarick being the stronger man, threw Chusero on the ground: but as he had twisted his hand in his hair, he could by no means disengage himself, till some of the other conspirators came, and, with a stroke of a sabre, cut off his head, and threw it down into the court, proclaiming the deed aloud to those below. A.D. 1321. Hig. 721.

The conspirators in the court below began to be hard pressed by the guards and the servants, who had crowded from all quarters, but upon hearing of the Emperor's fate, they all hastened out of the palace. The conspirators then shut the gates, and massacred all who had not the good fortune to escape; particularly the younger children of the Emperor Alla, Feredoon, Ali, and Omar. Then breaking into the Haram, committed all manner of violence upon the poor women. Thus the vengeance of God overtook and exterminated the race of Alla, for his ingratitude to his uncle Ferose, and the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands. Heaven also punished Mubarick, whose name and reign are too infamous to have a place in the records of literature; did not our duty, as a historian, oblige us to this disagreeable task. But notwithstanding, we have in some places been obliged to throw the veil of oblivion over circumstances too horrid to relate. A general massacre in the palace.

This massacre happened on the fifth of the first Ribbi, in the year 721. In the morning, Chusero, surrounded by his creatures, mounted the throne, and, ridiculously, assumed the title of the supporter of religion.* He then ordered all the slaves and servants of Mubarick, who he thought Chusero mounts the throne.

* Nasir-ul-dien.

A. D. 1321. Hig. 721. thought had the least spark of honesty, to be put to death, and their wives and children to be sold for slaves. His brother was dignified with the title of Chan Chanan, or chief of the Omrahs, and married to one of the daughters of the Emperor Alla, while he took Dewildè, the widow of Mubarick, to himself. He disposed of all the other ladies of the seraglio among his beggarly friends. The army now remained to be bribed, who loved nothing better than a revolution; for they had always, upon such an occasion, a donation of six months pay immediately divided from the treasury. This trifle bought those dissolute slaves, who were lost to all sense of gratitude or honour.

Honours conferred upon the conspirators. The son of Kimar, the chief of a gang of thieves, received the title of Shaista, and was made chief secretary of the empire, while Ain ul Malleck was appointed captain-general of the Imperial armies. Jonah had the title of Chusero, and the appointment of master of the horse, with many other distinguishing favours, with an intention to gain over the allegiance of his father, Ghazi, governor of Lahore and Debalpoor, of whom the usurper was in great fear. Notwithstanding his promotion, Jonah was touched to the soul to see the empire ridden by a gang of villains.

Ghazi revolts. His father also, who was reckoned a man of great bravery and honour in those days, was discontented at the infamous proceedings at court, and roused himself to revenge. He acquainted his son of his purpose, and Jonah took the first opportunity to fly from Delhi, and join his father. The usurper was in great perplexity upon the flight of Jonah, and began already to give his hopes to the wind. Ghazi immediately prepared for hostilities, and, by circular letters, invited all the Omrahs to join his standard. A great many of the subas of the provinces put their troops immediately

mediately in motion; but Mogulti, the governor of Moultan, jealous of precedence, refused to join; upon which occasion, Byram, a chief of some note in those parts, was prevailed upon to assassinate him. Eclikki, governor of Samana, notwithstanding the usurper had been the occasion of his losing his ears, transmitted the circular letter of Ghazi to court, informing him of the rebellion, and, taking the field against the confederates, received a signal defeat, and, in his flight to Delhi, was fallen upon by the zemindars, and cut to pieces. The usurper sent his brother, and Sufi, with all on whom he could depend, against the confederates.

A. D. 1321. Hig. 721.

Defeats the usurper's army.

Ghazi, now joined by Byram with the army from Moultan, and other subas, advanced to meet the usurper's army, which he did upon the banks of the Sirusti. But as the troops of Ghazi were experienced in frequent wars with the Moguls, and those of Chusero enervated by indolence and debaucheries, and besides lost to all sense of military honour, they were broke at the first onset, and all the public treasure, elephants and baggage, were taken. This booty was divided in the field among the conquerors. They then continued their march in triumph towards Delhi. The usurper, in great embarrassment, marched out of the city, and took possession of a strong post near the great pond of Alahi, with the citadel in his rear, and many gardens with high walls in his front. He then opened the treasury, and gave three years pay to his troops, leaving nothing but the jewels, of some of which he also disposed. The confederates advancing in sight, an action was expected next morning. But that night Moultani drew off his forces from the usurper, and took the route of Mindu. This struck great terror into Chusero's army. They however drew up in order of battle; and Tilbiga and Sha-

ista

A.D. 1321. Hig. 721. ists opposing the confederates with great bravery, as they advanced through the lanes, were at length overpowered and slain. But their situation gave such advantages to the usurper's army, that they maintained their post till the evening; when the infamous Chusero fled, with a few of his friends, towards Jilput. In the way he was deserted by all his attendants, and obliged to conceal himself in a tomb, from whence he was dragged the next day, and ordered to be put to death, together with his brother, who was taken in a neighbouring garden.

Chusero overthrown, taken, and slain.

The day after this action, being the first of Shaban, all the Omrahs and magistrates of the city came to pay their respects to the victor, and made him a present of the keys of the capital. He mounted his horse, and entered Delhi in triumph. When he came in sight of the palace of a thousand pillars, he began to weep, crying with a loud voice, "O ye subjects of this great empire, I am no more than one of you, who unsheathed my sword to deliver you from oppression, and rid the world of a monster. My endeavours, by the blessing of God, have been crowned with success. If therefore any of the royal line remain, let them be brought, that justice may take place, and that we, his servants, may prostrate ourselves before his throne. But if none of the race of kings have escaped the bloody hands of tyranny and usurpation, let the most worthy of the illustrious order be elected among you, and I shall swear to abide by your choice."

Ghazi's moderation.

The people cried out with one voice, that none of the princes were now alive; that as he had shielded them from the vengeance of the Moguls, and delivered them from the rage of a tyrant, none was so worthy to reign. Then seizing him, in a manner by violence, they placed him upon the throne, and hailed him King of the world.

He mounts the throne.

But he assumed the more modest title of Yeas-ul-dien Tuglick, or the reformer of religion. The reign of Chusero was five months. Nothing in history can exhibit such an example of the dissolute and infamous manners of any age or nation, as we are presented with in the accounts of this wicked and shameful usurpation, though it was scarcely more dishonourable to mankind than the reign of the abandoned Mubarick, who had some right to the empire. A.D. 1321. Hig. 721.

During the short usurpations of the two Cafoors, and the reign of Mubarick, there were very few alterations in the state of Asia. Ajuli Palipata sat on the Mogul throne of Tartary and China; and Abusaid, of the race of Zingis, on that of Persia. State of Asia.

TUG-

TUGLICK I.

A.D. 1321. Hig. 721.

His pedigree uncertain.

WE have no true accounts of the pedigree of Tuglick *. It is generally believed that his father, whose name was Tuglick, had been, in his youth, brought up as an imperial slave, by Balin. His mother was one of the tribe of the Jits. But indeed the pedigrees of the Kings of the Patan empire make such a wretched figure in history, that we could wish to omit them, were it not to show how far the depravity and corruption of a people can plunge them into the sink of slavery, and subject them to the vilest of men.

A wise prince.

When Tuglick mounted the throne, he began to regulate the affairs of government, which had fallen into the utmost disorder, by the most salutary and adviseable methods, which gained him general esteem. He repaired the palaces and fortifications, founded others, and encouraged industry and commerce. Men of genius and learning were called to court; institutes of laws and government were established and founded upon the Koran, and the ancient usages of the empire.

Promotions at court.

Jonah, the Emperor's eldest son, was declared heir apparent, with the title of Ali, and all the royal ensigns conferred upon him. His other four sons were entitled Byram, Ziffer, Mamood, and Nuscrit. Byram Iba, who had had so effectually assisted him with the army from Moultan, was adopted

* Sultan Yeas-ul-dien Tuglic Shaw.

adopted his brother, by the title of the noble Chusero, and appointed viceroy of the provinces upon the Indus. Assid, his nephew, was appointed lord of the presence; and Malleck Baha, his other nephew, chief secretary of the empire. Shadi, the Emperor's brother and son-in-law, was made vizier. Burhan had the government of Deogire conferred upon him; and Tartar, the government of another district in that country called Ziffer-abad. A.D. 1322. Hig. 722.

The Emperor, in the mean time, stationed troops upon the frontiers towards Cabul, and built forts to defend the country from the incursions of the Moguls, which he did so effectually as not to be troubled by these invaders during his reign. In the second year from his accession, Jonah, the Emperor's eldest son, with some of the old Omrahs, and the troops of Chinderi Budaoon, and Malava, was dispatched towards Tillingana, to chastise Lidderdeo, the Indian prince of Arinkil, who had, during the late disturbances, wrested his neck from the yoke, and refused to send his tribute, while the Raja of Deogire had also swerved from his allegiance. Jonah, having advanced into those countries, began a barbarous war with fire and sword. Lidderdeo opposed him with some vigour, but was in the end obliged to retreat into the city of Arinkil, which Jonah immediately invested. Troops stationed on the frontiers.

The siege was carried on with great loss on both sides, till the walls were battered down, and a practicable breach made. The Mahommedan army, in the mean time, on account of the hot winds and bad water, were seized with a malignant distemper, that swept hundreds to their graves every day. Many became desirous to return home, and spread false reports through the camp, which threw universal consternation among Arinkil besieged.

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A. D. 1322, Hig. 722. the army. As there had been no advices for above a month from Delhi, Zuda Dimiski, the poet, and some others who were companions of Jonah, raised a report, by way of jest, that the Emperor was dead, and that a great revolution had happened in Delhi. Not content with this, they went to the tents of Timur, Afghan, Cafoor Mordar, and Tiggi, who were the principal Omrahs in the camp, and told them, such and such was the state of affairs at Delhi, and that Prince Jonah knowing them, as old Omrahs, to have an equal right with himself to the empire, had resolved to dispatch them.

Siege raised. The Omrahs giving implicit belief to this false information, fled that night, with all their dependants, from the camp. Jonah, thus deserted, was under the necessity of retreating, in great disorder, towards Deogire, whither he was pursued by the besieged, with great slaughter. In the mean time advices arrived from Delhi, that all was well, and Jonah halted at Deogire to collect his scattered army. The four Omrahs who fled, having disagreed among themselves, had each taken a separate route, by which means they were fallen upon by the Indians, plundered of their elephants, camels and baggage, and otherwise greatly harassed in their march. Timur and Tiggi were both slain, while Afghan and Cafoor were seized by their own troops, and brought prisoners to Deogire. An inquiry was made into their conduct, the authors of the disturbance seized, and all of them sent prisoners to Delhi. The Emperor ordered the propagators of the false intelligence to be buried alive, with this severe sarcasm: "That they had buried him alive in jest, but that he would bury them alive in good earnest."

Prince

Prince Jonah was obliged to retreat from Deogire, and brought only back three thousand horse, of all his great army, to Delhi. He in two months, however, made great preparations, and, with a more numerous army than the former, took the route of Arinkil. He took in his way the city of Bedir, on the frontiers of Tillingana, and other places, where he left garrisons. He then advanced to the capital, renewed the siege, and in a short time reduced it. Some thousands of the unfortunate Hindoos were massacred, and Lidderdeo, with his family, taken prisoners. Jonah sent the prisoners, their treasure, elephants, and effects, to Delhi, under charge of Kuddir and Chaja. Upon their arrival great rejoicings were made in the new citadel, which the Emperor had built, by the name of Tuglickabad. The Prince having appointed trusty Omrahs to govern the country of Tillingana, proceeded in person towards Jagenagur*. In that place he took forty elephants from the Raja, and sent them to his father. Returning then to Arinkil, he staid there a few days, and continued his march to Delhi.

A. D. 1323. Hig. 723. Arinkil again besieged.

In the beginning of the year 724, complaints arrived from Bengal of the great oppressions committed by the governors of that kingdom. Tuglick appointed his son Jonah to the government of Delhi, and, with a great army, marched towards Bengal. When he had reached Nahib, Nazir, the grandson of the Emperor Balin, who had remained in that government since the death of his father, arrived, in a respectful manner, from Bengal, with many valuable presents. He was confirmed in his government of the whole kingdom of Bengal, and honoured with royal dignities;

The Emperor marches towards Bengal.

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* Now Cattack, in Orissa.

A. D. 1325. Hig. 725. dignities; and the Emperor prepared for his return. When he was passing near the hills of Turhat, the Indian prince of those parts appearing in arms, he pursued him into the woods. Finding his army could no longer continue the pursuit, he alighted, and calling for a hatchet, cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops, upon seeing this, set to work with such spirit, that the forest seemed to vanish before them, till they arrived at a fort surrounded with seven ditches full of water, and a high wall. The King immediately invested it, began the siege, filled up the ditches, and broke down the wall in three weeks. He took the Raja, his family and wealth, and conferred the government of Turhat upon the noble Ahmed, and returned with his army towards Delhi.

Killed by accident. When the Emperor had reached Afghanpoor, he was met by Prince Jonah, with all the nobles of Delhi, to congratulate him upon his safe return. But his death was now approaching. His son had in that place raised a wooden house, in three days time, for his father's reception. The entertainment being over, the King was preparing to mount, and every body hastened out to be ready to accompany him; the roof of the building fell instantly in, and killed the Emperor and five of his attendants as he was rising to follow the Omrahs.

His death ascribed to various causes. Some authors attribute this accident to the newness of the building, and the motion of the elephants that were preparing without. Others give it to design, with which they charge Jonah, as the raising this unnecessary building seems indeed to indicate; but others ascribe it to lightning, so that the matter still remains in doubt. The death of Tuglick happened in the month of the first Ribbi of the year 725, after a reign of

of four years and some months. The poet, the noble Chusero, who lived down to the end of this Emperor's reign, has favoured posterity with his history at large, by which it appears that he was a great and virtuous prince. A.D. 1325, Hig. 725.

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MAHOMMED III.

A. D. 1325. Hig. 725.

AFTER the King's funeral obsequies were performed, his eldest son, Jonah, ascended the throne by the name of Mahommed, and proceeded from Tuglick Abad to Delhi. The streets of that city were strewed with flowers, the houses adorned, the drums beating, and every demonstration of joy exhibited. The new Emperor ordered some elephants loaded with gold and silver, before and behind him, which was scattered among the populace. Tatar, whom the Emperor Tuglick had adopted, and appointed to the government of Zifferabad, was now honoured with the title of Byram, and presented with a hundred elephants, a crore of golden rupees, two thousand horse, and the government of Bengal. To Sinjer of Buduchshan, Mahommed gave seventy lacks in silver; to Malleck, eighty lacks; and to Molana, his preceptor, forty lacks, all in one day. The learned Molana Cumi had an annual pension of one lack, and Malleck of Ghizni, the poet, another to the same amount.

Jonah, by the name of Mahommed, mounts the throne.

His generosity.

His generosity, in short, was, like his wealth, without bounds, which no man could well account for, there being no great sum in the treasury upon his accession. It is therefore probable that he had concealed the riches of the prince of Arinkil from Tuglick, and that his liberality was supplied from the wealth of the Decan, which

which circumstance strengthens our suspicion that he was accessary to his father's death. Some writers, notwithstanding this suspicion, make long panegyricks upon his virtues and accomplishments. He, it must be acknowledged, aimed at universal knowledge, was conversant in all the literature of the times, and a patron of learned men, giving them profusely pensions for a magnificent subsistence. Mahommed was, at the same time, very strict with regard to public and private worship. He ordered prayers to be read in the mosques five times every day. He discouraged all intemperate pleasures, and set the example by his own rigid life. But it is to be suspected, that he acted the mean character of a hypocrite, for he was vindictive and inhuman, delighting in the blood of his subjects, and condemning them, without distinction of right or wrong, to cruel and ignominious deaths.

A.D. 1325. Hig. 725.

His learning, religion, and cruelty.

In the beginning of the reign of Mahommed, before the empire was properly settled, Siri, chief of the tribe of Zagatay, a Mogul general of great fame, invaded Hindostan, in the year 727, with an innumerable army, with a view to make an entire conquest of it. Having subdued Limghan, Moultan, and the northern provinces, he advanced towards Delhi with incredible expedition, and invested it. Mahommed, seeing he could not cope with the enemy in the field, and that the city must soon fall, began to sue for peace; he sent an immense present in gold and jewels, to soften the Mogul chief, who at last consented, upon receiving almost the price of the empire, to return to his own country, taking Guzerat and Sind in his way, which he plundered of a world of wealth.

The Moguls invade Hindostan.

Mahommed turned his thoughts to war, and the regulation of his army. He subdued, by different generals, many distant countries, such as

The Emperor's conquests.

A.D. 1326. Hig. 727.

Door, Summudir, Maber, Compila, Arinkil, some of which provinces had revolted, and others had never been subjected by the arms of the Islamites. He soon after reduced the Carnatic to the extremities of the Decan, and from sea to sea, obliging all the Rajas to pay him tribute, by which means he again filled the treasury with money.

The cause of disturbances in the empire.

But, during the convulsions which soon after shook the empire, all these foreign conquests were wrested from the yoke. The causes of the disturbances were chiefly these; the heavy imposts, which were, in this reign, tripled in some provinces; the passing copper money for silver, by public decree; the raising 370,000 horse for the conquest of Chorassan and Maver-ul-nere; the sending 100,000 horse towards the mountains between India and China; the cruel massacre of many Mahommedans, as well as Hindoos, in different parts of India; and many other lesser reasons, which, for the sake of brevity, we shall forbear to mention.

Heavy imposts.

The imposts upon the necessaries of life, which were levied with the utmost rigour, were too great for the power of industry, and consequently the country was involved in distraction and confusion. The farmers were forced to fly to the woods, and to maintain themselves by rapine. The lands being left uncultivated, famine began to desolate whole provinces, and the sufferings of the people obliterated from their minds every idea of government, and subjection to authority.

Copper money.

The copper money, for want of proper regulations, was productive of no less evils than that which we have already specified. The King, unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas upon currency, from a Chinese custom of using paper upon the Emperor's credit with the royal seal appended, for ready money. Mahommed, instead of

of paper, struck a copper coin, which, being issued at an imaginary value, he made current by a decree throughout Hindostan. The mint was under very bad regulations. Bankers acquired immense fortunes by coinage, whilst the merchants made their payments in copper to the poor manufacturers, at the same time that they themselves received for their exports silver and gold. There was much villany also practised in the mint; for a premium to those who had the management of it, the merchants had their coin struck considerably below the legal value; and these abuses were overlooked by the government. But the great source of the misfortunes consequent upon this debasement of the coin, was the known instability of government. Public credit could not long subsist in a state so liable to revolutions as Hindostan; for how could the people in the remote provinces receive for money, the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?

A.D. 1325. Hig. 730.

Villanies in the mint.

From these evils general murmurs and confusions arose throughout the empire. The Emperor, to ease the minds of the people, was obliged to call in the copper currency. But there had been such abuses in the mint, that, after the treasury was emptied, there still remained a heavy demand. This he was forced to strike off, and thousands were ruined. The Emperor himself was so far from winning by this indigested scheme, that he lost all he had in his treasury; and the bankers accumulated immense fortunes, on the ruin of their sovereign and the people. Mahommed, by the advice of Amir Norose, a Mogul chief, who, with thousands of his tribe, had entered into the service, raised a great army. The Mogul buoyed up the Emperor's mind with the facility of reducing both Persia and Tartary; but before these mighty projects could be put in execution,

Mahommed obliged to call in the copper money.

A.D. 1337. Hig. 738. cution, he fell in arrears to his forces. They, finding they could not subsist without pay, dispersed themselves over the empire, and carried pillage, ruin, and death, to every quarter. These misfortunes comprehended the domestic transactions of many years. The public treasury being squandered by impolitic schemes and follies of various kinds, the King entered into a project to repair his finances, equally absurd with that by which they were principally ruined.

Projects the conquest of China. Having heard of the great wealth of China, Mahommed formed a resolution to subdue that kingdom; but, to accomplish his design, it was first necessary to conquer the country of Himmatchil, which lies between the borders of China and India. He accordingly, in the year 738, ordered one hundred thousand horse, under the command of his sister's son Chusero, to subdue the mountainous country of Himmatchil, and fix garrisons as far as the frontiers of China. When this should be done, he proposed to advance in person, with his whole force, to invade that empire. The Omrahs and counsellors of state went so far as plainly to tell him that the troops of India never yet could, and never would advance a step within the limits of that mighty empire, and that the whole was a visionary project. The Emperor insisted upon making the experiment, and accordingly this army was put in motion, and, having entered the mountains, began to build small forts on the road, to secure a communication; proceeding in this manner to the boundaries of China, where a numerous army appeared to oppose them. As their numbers were by this time greatly diminished, and much inferior to that of the enemy, the troops of Hindostan were struck with universal dismay, upon considering their distance from home, the rugged ways they had passed, and the rainy season which was

was now approaching; besides the scarcity of provisions, which now began to be severely felt. In this consternation they bent their march towards the foot of a mountain, where the savage inhabitants of the hills poured down upon them, and plundered their baggage, while the Chinese army lay in their front. A.D. 1337. Hig. 738.

In this distressful situation they remained for seven days, suffering the extremities of famine without knowing how to proceed. At length such a heavy rain fell, that the cavalry were up to their bellies in water, which obliged the Chinese to remove their camp to a greater distance. Chusero then determined to endeavour to make his retreat, but the low country was quite covered with water, and the mountains with impervious woods. Their misfortunes now came to a crisis. Having lost the road, they found themselves in such an unfortunate situation, that they could find no way out but that by which they entered, which was now possessed by the enemy. This whole army, in short, in the space of fifteen days, fell a prey to famine, and a victim to false ambition; scarce a man coming back to relate the particulars, except those who were left behind in the garrisons. A few of them escaped indeed the rage of the enemy, but could not escape the more fatal tyranny of their Emperor, who ordered them to be put to death upon their return to Delhi. His army destroyed.

Baha, the Emperor's nephew, an Omrah of great reputation, known more generally by his original name Kirshasib, who possessed a government in the Decan called Saghir, began to turn his thoughts upon the empire, and gained over many of the nobles of the Decan to his party. By their influence, and the great riches which he had accumulated, his power became very formidable. He then attacked some Omrahs who continued Rebellion in the Decan.

A.D. 1338. Hig. 739.

tinued firm in their allegiance, obliging them to take refuge in the fort of Mindu. Mahommed having intelligence of the revolt, commanded Jehan, with many other Omrahs, and the whole power of Guzerat, to chastise the rebel. When the imperial army arrived before Deogire, they found Kirshasib drawn up in order of battle to receive them: but, after a gallant contest, he was defeated. He fled towards his government; but not daring to remain there, he carried off his family and wealth to Campala in the Carnatic, and took protection in the dominions of the Raja of that place, with whom he had maintained a friendly intercourse.

Kirshasib taken and flay'd alive.

Mahommed, in the mean time, took the field, and arrived soon after at Deogire. He sent from thence Jehan with a great force against the prince of Campala, by whom the imperialists were twice defeated: but, fresh reinforcements arriving from Deogire, Jehan engaged the Raja a third time, and carried the victory. He took the prince prisoner, but Kirshasib fled to the court of Belaldeo, who, fearing to draw the same misfortunes upon himself, seized upon him, and sent him bound to the general, and acknowledged his subjection to the empire. Jehan immediately dispatched the prisoner to court, where the Emperor ordered him to be flay'd, and shewn a horrid spectacle, all around the city; while the executioner proclaimed aloud, "Thus shall all traitors to their King perish."

The Emperor makes Deogire his capital

The Emperor was so much pleased with the situation and strength of Deogire, that, considering it more centrical than Delhi, he determined to make it his capital. But, upon proposing this affair in his council, the majority were of opinion, that Ugein was a more proper place for that purpose. The King, however, had previously formed his resolution. He therefore gave orders that the

the city of Delhi, which was then the envy of the world; should be rendered desolate, and that men, women, and children, with all their effects and cattle, should make a grand migration to Deogire. To add magnificence to the migration, he commanded trees to be tore up by the roots, and planted in regular rows along the road, to yield the emigrants a shade, and that all who had not money to defray their charges, should be maintained at the public expence. He ordered that for the future Deogire should be called Dowlatabad, or the fortunate city; raised noble buildings, and dug a deep ditch round the walls, which he repaired and beautified. Upon the top of the hill upon which the citadel stood, he formed large reservoirs for water, and made a beautiful garden. This change however greatly affected the empire, and distracted the minds of the people. But the emperor's orders were strictly complied with, and the ancient capital left desolate. A. D. 1338. Hig. 739. Destroys Delhi.

Mahommed having effected this business, marched his army against the fort of Gundana, near Jinner. Nack-naig, who was chief of the Colies, opposed him with great bravery, but was forced to take refuge within his walls As the place was built upon the summit of a steep mountain, inaccessible but by one narrow pass cut in the rock, the Emperor had no hopes of reducing it but by famine. He accordingly ordered it to be blockaded, and, at the same time, made some ineffectual attacks, in which he was repulsed with great loss. The garrison becoming straitened for provisions, and having no hopes of Mahommed's retreat, delivered up the place at the expiration of eight months; and he soon after returned to Dowlatabad.

He had not been long in his capital, when he heard that his father's firm friend Ibah, the viceroy of Moultan, had rebelled, and was then reducing The viceroy of Moultan revolts.

A.D. 1340. Hig. 741. ducing the country about the Indus with a great army. The cause of the revolt was this: Mahommed having sent an order to all his Omrahs to send their families to Dowlatabad, the messenger who was dispatched to Moultan, presuming too much upon the King's authority, upon observing some delay, proceeded to impertinent threats. He one day told Ibah's son-in-law, that he believed his father was meditating treason against the King. High words upon this arose between them, which soon ended in blows; and the messenger had his head struck off by one of Ibah's servants. Ibah knowing the vengeful disposition of Mahommed, was sensible that this disrespect to his authority would never be forgiven, and resolved to seek refuge in arms.

He is overthrown and slain.

The Emperor, upon these advices, put his spears in motion, and hastened towards Moultan; and Ibah, with a numerous army, prepared to dispute the field. Both armies at last met, and, eager for victory, engaged with great resolution; but after a great slaughter on both sides, misfortune darkened the standards of Ibah, and his troops turning their backs upon glory, abandoned the field. Mahommed immediately gave orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants of Moultan; but the learned Shech Rukun interceded for them, and prevented the effects of this horrible mandate. Ibah was taken in the pursuit, and his head brought to the King, who returned towards Delhi.

Mahommed resides at Delhi two years.

At sight of their native country and city, all those who had been forced to Dowlatabad began to desert the Imperial army, and to disperse themselves in the woods. The Emperor, to prevent the consequences of this desertion, took up his residence in the city; whither he invited them, and remained there for the space of two years. But then he again revolved in his mind the scheme

of making Dowlatabad his capital. He removed his family, obliging the nobles to do the same, and carried off the whole city a second time to the Decan; leaving that noble metropolis a habitation for owls, and the wild beasts of the desart.

A.D. 1341. Hig. 742.

Oppressions, and unheard-of cruelty of the Emperor.

About this time the taxes were so heavily imposed, and exacted with such rigour and cruelty, by the officers of the revenue, that the whole extent of that fertile country, between the two rivers Ganges and Jumna, were particularly oppressed. The farmers, weary of their lives, in one day, set fire to their own houses, and retired to the woods with their families and cattle. The tyrant having received intelligence of this circumstance, ordered a body of troops to massacre these unhappy people if they resisted, and if they should be taken, to put out their eyes. Many populous provinces were, by this inhuman decree, laid waste, and remained so for several years. The colony of Dowlatabad was also in great distraction; the people, without houses, without employment, were reduced to the utmost distress. The tyrannies of the cruel Mahommed exceeded, in short, any thing we have met with in history, of which the following is a horrid instance: When he remained at Delhi, he led his army out to hunt, as is customary with princes. When they arrived in the territory of Birren, he plainly told them, that he came not to hunt beasts, but men; and, without any obvious reason, began a general massacre of the wretched inhabitants. He had even the barbarity to bring home some thousands of their heads, and to hang them over the city walls. He, upon another occasion, made an excursion of the same nature towards Kinnoge, and massacred all the inhabitants of that city and the adjacent country for many miles, spreading terror and desolation wherever he turned his eyes.

But

A.D. 1342. Hig. 743.

A rebellion in Bengal.

But to return to the chain of history; during this time, Fuchir, after the death of Byram, rebelled in Bengal, having slain Kuddir, and possessed himself of the three provinces of Bengal.* The Emperor, at the same time, received advices, that Seid Hassen had rebelled in Maber. He ordered Ibrahim, the son of Hassen, and all his family to prison; then marched in the year 742, from the sacking of Kinnoge, towards Maber. When he had reached Dowlatabad, he laid a heavy tax upon that city and the neighbouring provinces, which awakened the people into rebellion; but his numerous army soon reduced all the unhappy insurgents to their former slavery. From that place he sent back a part of his army, and Chaja Jehan to Delhi, while he himself marched with another force towards Maber, by the way of Tillingana.

Mahommed buries, with great solemnity, one of his teeth.

When Mahommed arrived before Arinkil, there happened to be a plague in that city, by which he lost a great part of his army. He himself had a violent struggle for his own life, and was obliged to leave one of his Omrahs, Ahmed, to command the army, and return towards Dowlatabad. On the way he was seized with a violent toothach, and lost one of his teeth, which he ordered to be buried with much ceremony at Beir, and a magnificent tomb to be reared over it, which still remains a monument of human vanity and folly. Having arrived at Patan, he found himself better, and halted to take medicines for some days. In this place he gave to Sultani the title of Nuserit Chan, and the government of Bidder on the Indus, with its dependencies, which yielded annually a revenue of one crore of rupees. He, at the same time, conferred the government of Dowlatabad, and of the country of the Maharattors, upon Cuttilich his preceptor.

He

* Bengal, at this time, was divided into three governments.

He proceeded from Patan in his palankie to Delhi, having heard of some disturbance among the Patan soldiers stationed in that capital. He, at this period, gave leave to such of the inhabitants of Dowlatabad as were willing to return to Delhi to follow him. Many thousands returned, but they had almost perished on the way by a famine, which then desolated the countries of Malava and Chinderi. When they came to Delhi, they found that the famine raged with redoubled violence in that city, insomuch that very few could procure the necessaries of life. Mahommed, for once, seemed affected with human miseries. He even for some time entirely changed his disposition, and took great pains to encourage husbandry, commerce, and all kinds of industry. He opened the treasury, and divided large sums to the inhabitants for these purposes. But as the people were really in great distress, they expended the money in the necessaries of life, and many of them were severely punished upon that account.

A.D. 1342. Hig. 743.

He returns to Delhi.

The misery of the inhabitants.

Shahoo, a chief of the Mountain Afgans, about this time, commenced hostilities to the northward, poured down like a torrent upon Moultan, which he laid waste, and killed Begad, the imperial viceroy, in battle, and put his army to flight. Mahommed, having prepared an army at Delhi, moved towards Moultan; but Shahoo, upon the King's approach, wrote him a submissive letter, and fled to the mountains of Afganistan. The Emperor, perceiving that it was idle to pursue him, returned to Delhi. The famine continued still to rage in the city so dreadfully, that men ate one another. He ordered, in this distress, another distribution of money, towards the sinking of wells, and the cultivation of lands; but the people, weakened by hunger, and distracted by private distresses in their families, made very little progress, while the drought continued, and

Rebellion of the Afgans.

A. D. 1342. Hig. 743. rendered their labour vain. At the same time, the tribes of Mindahir, and others who inhabited the country about Samana, unable to discharge their rents, fled into the woods. The Emperor marched forthwith against them with his army, and massacred some thousands of these poor slaves.

The Gickers invade Punjâb. In the year 743, the chief of the Gickers invaded Punjâb, and killed Tatar the viceroy of Lahore in action. Jehan, upon this, was sent against him. Mahommed, in the mean time, began to entertain a ridiculous notion, that all the misfortunes of his reign proceeded from his not being confirmed in the empire by the Calipha of Mecca. An embassy sent to Mecca. He therefore dispatched presents and ambassadors to Arabia, and struck the Calipha's name, in the place of his own, on all the current coin, and prohibited all public worship in the mosques, till the Calipha's confirmation should arrive. In the year 744, one of the race of the prophet, named Sirsirri, returned with the ambassador, and brought the Calipha's confirmation, and a royal dress. He was met without the city by the King in person, who advanced to receive him on foot, putting the patent of the Caliphat upon his head, and opening it with great solemnity. Returning into the city, he ordered a grand festival to be celebrated, and public service to be read in all the mosques, striking out every king's name from the Chutba, who had not been confirmed from Mecca. Among the number of those degraded monarchs was the Emperor's own father. He even carried this whim so far as to write the Calipha's name upon his houses, robes, and furniture. These, and some other ridiculous actions of the life of Mahommed, may reasonably make us suspect the soundness of his head. The Arabian ambassador, after being royally entertained, was dismissed with a letter to his

master, full of respect, and with presents of immense value, and accompanied by Kabire, chief of the life-guards. A.D. 1343. Hig. 744.

This year Kisnanaig, the son of Lidderdeo, who lived near Arinkil, went privately to Bellaldeo, the prince of the Carnatic, and told him, "That he had heard the Mahommedans, who were now very numerous in the Decan, had formed a design of extirpating all the Hindoos; that it was therefore adviseable to prevent them in time." What truth there might be in this report we know not, but Bellaldeo acted as if he was convinced of such a scheme. He called a council of his nobles, in which it was resolved, that Bellaldeo should first secure his own country, by fixing his capital in a pass among the mountains, to exclude the followers of Mahommed from all those kingdoms. Kisnanaig in the mean time promised, when matters should be ripe, to raise all the Hindoos of Arinkil and Tillingana to his assistance. Schemes for a revolt, formed in the Decan.

Bellaldeo accordingly built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called it Bigen, from the name of his son, to which the word Nagur, or city, is now added. He then began to raise an army, and sent part of it under the command of Kisnanaig, who reduced Arinkil, and drove Ahmed, the imperial viceroy, to Dowlatabad. Bellaldeo and Kisnanaig having joined their forces with the princes of Maber and Doorsummund, who were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic, they seized upon those countries, and drove the Mahommedans before them on all sides. In short, within a few months, Mahommed had no possessions in the Decan except Dowlatabad. The Decan lost to the empire.

The tyrannical Mahommed, upon receiving intelligence of those misfortunes, grew vengeful, splenetic, and cruel, wreaking his rage upon his unhappy Emperor's tyranny, and distractions in the empire.

A. D. 1345. Hig. 745. unhappy subjects, without crime, provocation, or distinction. This conduct occasioned rebellion, robbery, and confusion, in all parts of the empire. The famine became daily more and more dreadful, insomuch that the Emperor, not able to procure provisions even for his household, was obliged to abandon the city, and to open the gates, and permit the starved inhabitants, whom he had before confined, to provide for themselves. Thousands crowded towards Bengal, which, as we have before observed, had revolted from the empire. Mahommed encamped his army near Cumpula, on the banks of the Ganges, and drew supplies from the countries of Oud and Kurrah. He ordered his people to build houses, which at length became a city under the name of Surgdewarie.

Insurrections quashed. In the year 745, Nizam Bain, a zemindar, possessed of some lands in the province of Oud, and a fellow of an infamous character, collected a mob of the discontented farmers, and assumed the royal umbrella, under the name of Alla. But before Mahommed marched against him, the suba of Oud raised his forces, and, defeating him, sent his head to court. Nuzerit, in the same year, who had taken the whole province of Bidder, at one crore of rupees, payable to the treasury, finding himself unable to make good that contract, rebelled; but Cuttulich, being ordered against him from Dowlatabad, expelled him from that government. During this period Ali, who was sent from Dowlatabad to collect the rents of Kilbirga, finding that country destitute of troops, assembled his friends, raised an army with the collections, and, in the year 746, erected his rebellious standards, and took possession of Kilbirga and Bidder. Mahommed, on this occasion, sent a reinforcement to Cuttulich to suppress him. Cuttulich arriving on the confines of Bidder, Ali came

came out and gave him battle; but being defeated, he shut himself up in the city. He was however soon obliged to capitulate, and was sent prisoner to the King, who banished him and his brother to Ghizni. A.D. 1345. Hig. 746.

The suba of Oud, having paid great attention to the King, and entirely gained his favour, was appointed to the viceroyship of Dowlatabad and Arinkil, in the room of Cuttulich. But he himself looked upon this appointment as an impolitic step in the King, considering the services Cuttulich had done to his affairs in the Decan, and the power he then enjoyed; and therefore thought it a snare laid to draw him quietly from his own subaship, and then to deprive him of both. In the mean time, a number of the clerks of the revenues, being convicted of abuses in their office, were ordered to be put to death. Some of those who survived found means to escape to the suba, and endeavoured to confirm him in his former opinion of the King's intentions. He accordingly disobeyed the King's order, and erected the standard of rebellion, sending a detachment of horse under the command of his brother, who, before Mahommed received any intelligence of his designs, carried off all the elephants, camels, and horses, that were grazing or foraging near the royal camp. The Emperor, in great perplexity, called the troops of the adjacent districts to his assistance; while Jehan joined him with an army from Delhi. He moved his standards against the revolted suba, who, with his brothers, had now crossed the Ganges, and were advancing towards him in great hopes that the imperial army, tired and disgusted with their sovereign's tyrannical behaviour, would join them. Suba of Oud meditates a rebellion.

Mahommed, enraged at their presumption, mounted his horse, and engaging them, after a short conflict, put them to flight. The suba was taken Mahommed overthrows and pardons him.

A. D. 1346. Hig. 747. taken prisoner, and his brother Shoralla drowned in the Ganges, as he was swimming across, having been wounded in the action, while another brother was slain in the field. The Emperor was so prejudiced in favour of the suba, that he pardoned him, and restored him to his former dignities, saying, that he was certain that Muluck was a loyal subject, though he had been instigated to this rebellion by the malice and falsehood of others. Mahommed marched from thence to Barage, to pay his devotions at the tomb of Musaood, one of the family of the great Mamood, Emperor of Ghizni, who had been killed there by the Hindoos in the year 557. He distributed great sums among the Fakiers who resided at Barage, and then returned to Delhi. Another ambassador arrived at that time from the Calipha, and was received with the same distinguishing marks of respect as the former, and dismissed with rich presents. Not long after, a prince of the noble house of Abassi arrived at Delhi, and was met by Mahommed, at the village of Palum, and he presented him with two lacks of rupees, a large territory, a palace, and fine gardens. By way of respect to the Caliphat, he placed him upon his right hand, and even sometimes ridiculously condescended to sit down upon the carpet before him, and pay him obeisance.

Cuttulich recalled from the Decan. Some of the courtiers calumniated Cuttulich, governor of Dowlatabad, accusing him of oppressions and other abuses in his government, though a man of justice and integrity. The King recalled Cuttulich to Delhi, ordering his brother Molana, to whom he gave the title of Alim, to take charge of what remained to the empire of the Decan, till he should send some person from court. When the King's order arrived, Cuttulich was digging a great pond or reservoir, which he begged his brother to complete, and prepared to return to Delhi;

Delhi, with all the revenues of the Decan, which he had previously secured in a fort called Daragire, upon a mountain close to the city. Mahommed, after the arrival of Cuttulich, appointed four governors for the Decan, having divided it into four provinces, and determined to reduce it, as before, to his obedience. To accomplish his purpose, he ordered a numerous army, under the command of Ahmed, late governor of Arinkil, an Omrah of great reputation, to march to Dowlatabad, and entered into articles with him, that he and the other chiefs should pay into the treasury seven crores of rupees* annually for their governments. To make up this sum, and to gratify their own avarice, they plundered and oppressed that unfortunate country. At the same time Mahommed conferred the government of Malava upon Aziz, a mean fellow, formerly a vintner, and told him, that the Amirs of Sidda† were dangerous persons in that country, therefore to endeavour to extirpate them. A.D. 1346. Hig. 747.

Mahommed then marched back to his old cantonments at Surgdewara, and began to encourage cultivation, upon a new plan which he himself had invented; he appointed an inspector, for the regulation of all that related to husbandry, by the name of Amir Kohi, who divided the country into districts of 60 miles square, under a deputy, who was to be answerable for its cultivation and improvement. About one hundred deputies received their appointments at once, and seventy lacks of rupees were issued out of the treasury, to enable them to carry on this work. Encourages husbandry.

Aziz, when he arrived at Bedar, invited the Mogul chiefs to an entertainment, and assassinated A cruel massacre at Bedar.

* Near ten millions of our money.

† Mogul captains, who entered into his service with Amir Norose.

A.D. 1347. Hig. 748. ed eighty of them, with their attendants. He wrote to the Emperor an account of this horrible massacre, who sent him back a present of a dress and a fine horse, for his loyal services. Such were the morals of those wretched days. The tyrannical Mahommed had now taken it into his head, that he would be better served by people of low birth, than by the nobility. He accordingly promoted Litchena a singer, Pira a gardener, Munga his son, Baboo a weaver, Muckbil a slave, and other low fellows, to the degree of Omrahs, and gave them the command of provinces and high offices at court. He, in this, forgot the advice of the poet, who writes, that "He who exalts the head of a beggar, and hopes great things from his gratitude, inverts the nature of things, and nourishes a serpent in his bosom." This resolution of the Emperor was occasioned by a noble refusal of the Omrahs to put his cruel orders in execution.

Disturbances in Guzerat. In the mean time the slave Muckbil, with the title of Chan Jehani, governor of Guzerat, with the treasure, and the Emperor's horses, set out for Delhi. The mercenary Moguls of those parts hearing of his intentions, waylaid him with a body of horse, and having robbed him, retired to Narwalla, the capital of Guzerat. Mahommed hearing of this robbery, in a great rage prepared for Guzerat, leaving Ferose, his nephew, governor at Delhi, and, in the year 748, marched to Sultanpoor, about 30 miles without the city, where he waited for some reinforcements. An address came from Aziz, the vintner, begging leave to go against the Mogul chiefs, being nearer, and having a sufficient force, as he imagined, for that purpose. The Emperor consented to his request, at the same time expressing much doubt of his success, knowing him to be a dastardly and unexperienced officer. Aziz advanced

advanced towards the rebels; but, in the beginning of the action he was struck powerless with terror, and fell headlong from his horse. He was taken, and suffered a cruel death, his army being defeated with some loss.

A.D. 1347. Hig. 748.

Mahommed being informed of this disaster, marched from Sultanpoor. It was on this march that he is said to have asked Birni, the poet, what crimes a King ought to punish with severity? The poet replied, that seven sorts of criminals deserved severe punishment; these were, apostates from their religion, shedders of innocent blood, double adulterers, rebellious persons, officers disobeying lawful orders, thieves, and perverters of the laws. When he had reached the hills of Abu, upon the confines of Guzerat, he sent one of his principal Omrahs against the rebels, who met them in the districts of Bai, and gave them a total defeat. The Emperor having halted at Barage, sent Muckbil after them, who, coming up with them as they were crossing the Nirbuda, put the greatest part to the sword. The few who escaped taking protection with Madeo, prince of Buckelana, were all plundered of their wealth.

Birni's reply to the Emperor.

The Emperor, upon this occasion, massacred many of the Mogul chiefs, and plundered Cambait and Guzerat of every thing valuable, putting all who opposed him to the sword. He then sent to Dowlatabad, to seize upon all the Siddas of those parts, to bring them to punishment. Muckbil, according to orders, summoned the Siddas from Raijor, and many other places. The Siddas, conformable to those orders, prepared for Dowlatabad, and when they were all collected, Muckbil dispatched them, under a guard of fifteen hundred horse, to the royal presence. When the Siddas, or Mogul chiefs, were arrived upon the frontiers of Guzerat, fearing that Mahommed

The Emperor's cruelty in Cambait and Guzerat.

A.D. 1347. Hig. 748. hommed had a design upon their lives, they entered into a conspiracy for their own security. They, with one accord, fell upon their guard, slew Ahmed their chief, with many of his people, while the rest, under the command of one Ali, fled to Dowlatabad. The Siddas pursued them, and before any advices could arrive to put the place in a posture of defence, they took it by assault, being favoured by the troops within, who became seditious. Muckbil, with whose behaviour they were satisfied, was spared, but all the rest of the Emperor's officers were put to death, and the treasure divided among the conspirators. The Siddas of Guzerat, and other parts, who were skulking about in the woods and mountains, hearing of the success of their brethren, joined them. Ismaiel, one of the nobles of their faction, was proclaimed King, by the name of Nasir. Mahommed hearing of this revolution at Dowlatabad, left Barage, and hastened towards that city. The usurper having drawn out his army, waited to give battle to the King. The two armies accordingly met, and the Moguls, though greatly inferior in number, roused by their danger and wrongs, assaulted the imperial troops with such violence, that the right and left wings were beat back, and the whole army upon the point of flight. But many of the chieftains who fought in the van being killed, four thousand of the Siddas fled; and night coming on, left the victory undecided, so that both armies lay on the field of battle.

The impolitic conduct of the Siddas.

A council of war being, in the mean time, called by the Siddas, who had suffered greatly in the engagement, it was determined that Ismaiel should retire into Dowlatabad, with a good garrison, and that the remainder should shift for themselves till Mahommed should leave the Decan;

Decan; when they resolved to assemble again at Dowlatabad. This wretched conduct was accordingly pursued. The Emperor ordered Ahmed, who was then at Elichpoor, to pursue the fugitives, while he himself laid siege to the city. A.D. 1347. Hig. 748.

In the mean time, advices arrived that one Tiggi, heading the Siddas of Guzerat, was joined by many of the zemindars, by which means he had taken Narwalla, the capital, and put Muziffer, the deputy governor of Guzerat, to death; imprisoned Moaz, the viceroy; and was now marching to lay waste Cambait, having in his route blockaded Barage. Mahommed, upon this, left an Omrah to carry on the siege of Dowlatabad, and, with the greater part of his army, marched with great expedition to Guzerat; he was plundered in his way of many elephants, and a great part of his baggage, by the Indians; he lost also a great many men in defending himself. Having, however, arrived at Barage, Tiggi retreated to Cambait, and was pursued by Buckera, whom the Emperor had detached after him. Tiggi having engaged the pursuers at Cambait, turned the chace upon them, killed Buckera and many other Omrahs; while the rest retreated to the Emperor. The rebel ordered all the prisoners taken in the action, as well as those whom he had formerly in confinement, to be put to death; among the latter was Moaz, viceroy of Guzerat. An insurrection in Guzerat.

Mahommed hearing of this cruelty, breathed revenge; he hastened to Cambait, and Tiggi, unable to oppose him, retreated; but was closely pursued thither by Mahommed. The rebel continued his flight to Narwalla, and, in the mean time, the Emperor, on account of a prodigious rain, was obliged to halt at Assawil a whole month. Advices were brought him at Assawil, that Tiggi, Mahommed pursues.

having

A.D. 1347. Hig. 748.

having recruited his army at Narwalla, was returning to give him battle. He immediately struck his tents and met the rebel at Kurri. Tiggi, having injudiciously ordered his men to intoxicate themselves with strong liquors, they attacked the imperialists with the fury of madmen; but the elephants in front soon repressed this borrowed valour, and repulsed and threw into confusion the rebels. An easy conquest was obtained: five hundred prisoners were taken and put to death; and an equal number fell in the field. The Emperor immediately dispatched the son of Buckera in pursuit of the runaways, by the way of Tatta, near the mouth of the Indus, whither Tiggi had fled; while the King went in person to Narwalla, and employed himself in settling Guzerat.

and overthrows the rebels.

A rebellion in the Decan.

News, in the mean time, arrived from the Decan, that the Mogul officers had assembled again under Hassen Caco, had defeated Ahmed, who had fallen in the action, and had driven all the imperial troops towards Malava: That Ismaiel had resigned his regal dignity, which Hassen Caco had assumed under the title of Alla. Mahommed was excessively chagrined upon receiving this intelligence, and began to consider his own tyranny as the cause of all those disorders. He therefore resolved to govern with more mildness and humanity for the future. He called his nephew Ferose, and other nobles, with their troops, in order to dispatch them against Caco.

The Emperor resolves to march in person against the rebels.

Before those Omrahs arrived, the King was informed that the usurper's army was prodigiously increased. He therefore determined, first, to settle Guzerat and Carnal*, and then to march in

* Now Joinagur.

in person to the Decan; but this business was not so soon accomplished as he at first imagined; for he spent a whole year in regulating Guzerat, and in recruiting his army. The next year was also spent in besieging the fort of Carnal, reducing Cutch, and the adjacent territories. Some authors affirm, that Mahommed took the fort of Carnal; but others of better authority say, that he desisted from that attempt, upon receiving some presents from the Raja. The poet Birni informs us, that Mahommed, one day, about this time, told him, that the diseases of the empire were of such a malignant nature, that he had no sooner cured them in one place, than they broke out in another. He would therefore be glad to know what remedy now remained to put a stop to this contagion. A.D. 1349. Hig. 750.

The poet replied, that when disaffection and disgust had once taken root in the minds of the people, they were not to be exterminated, without tearing up the vitals of the state: that the Emperor ought to be, by this time, convinced how little was to be hoped from punishment. That it was therefore his opinion, in this case, that the King ought to invest his son with the government, and retire; which would obliterate all former injuries, and dispose the people to peace and tranquillity. Mahommed, says Birni, answered in an angry tone, "That he had no son whom he could trust, and that he was determined to scourge his subjects for their insolence, whatever might be the event." He is advised to resign the crown to his son.

The Emperor, soon after this conversation with Birni, fell sick at Kondal. He had previously sent Jehad and Ahmed to Delhi, on account of the death of the viceroy, and called most of the principal men of the empire to the royal camp. Having recovered a little from his disorder, Falls sick.

A.D. 1351. Hig. 752. disorder, he mustered his army, and sent to collect boats along the Indus, which he ordered towards Tatta. Marching then from Kondal, he arrived on the banks of the Indus, which he crossed in spite of Tiggi; and was, on the other side, joined by five thousand Mogul horse. From thence he took the route of Tatta, to chastise the Sumrahs for giving the rebel protection. Arriving within sixty miles of that city, he halted to pass the first days of the Mohirrim; and when that fast was over, having eat fish to excess, he was seized with a fever. He would not however be prevailed upon to stop, but, getting into a barge, he proceeded to within thirty miles of Tatta, and upon the banks of the Indus, on the twenty-first of Mohirrim, in the year 752, this tyrant was conquered by death, and shut up in the dark dungeon of the grave. He reigned twenty-seven years; during which time, he seems to have laboured with no contemptible abilities, to be detested by God, and feared and abhorred by all men.

Dies. His execrable character.

State of Asia.

Seventeen years before the death of Mahommed, the Mogul empire of Persia fell into pieces, at the death of Abusaid. A number of petty dynasties arose out of the ruins; some of the imperial family of Zingis, and others of governors who had rendered themselves independent in their provinces. The intermediate provinces between Tartary, Persia and India, subject to the house of Zagatay, fell into anarchy and confusion, about the time of Mahommed's death. Shotepala, Yesun-Temur, Hosila, Tu-Temur and Tohan-Temur, successively mounted the Mogul throne of Tartary and China, during the reigns of Tughlick and Mahommed in India. The Patan empire declined greatly under the impolitic govern-

government of Mahommed. The south and eastern provinces were lost; and the territories of the Kings of Delhi were reduced to the same limits which bounded them before the successful reign of Alla. A.D. 1351. Hig. 752.

FEROSE III.

A. D. 1351. Hig. 752. Ferose.

WHEN the death of Mahommed happened, his cousin Ferose * was in the imperial camp. He was nephew to the Emperor Tughlick; and Mahommed, having conceived great friendship for him, designed to make him his successor, and, for that purpose, recommended him upon his death-bed to the Omrahs. Upon Mahommed's demise, the army fell into the utmost confusion. Ferose, having gained over the majority of the Omrahs to his party, prevailed, with presents, upon the Mogul mercenaries, to move to some distance from the camp, to prevent disturbances, till he should reduce the rest of the army to obedience. Amir Norose, a Mogul chief, who commanded a great body of the imperial troops, deserted that night, and, having joined Altu, the general of the Mogul mercenaries, told him, that now was the time to plunder the late Emperor's treasure, and to retreat to their native country. Altu was easily prevailed upon to adopt this lucrative scheme. They therefore returned next morning to the camp, which was still in very great confusion, and, after a very sharp skirmish, loaded some camels with treasure. Ferose, to secure himself from further depredations, led the army to Sewan, and took every possible means to defend himself against

* Moazim Mohizzib Ferose Shaw, ben Sallar Regib.

against the avarice of the mercenaries. The Omrahs, the day after this movement, waited upon Ferose, and intreated him to mount the throne. After many pretended excuses, he favoured the Omrahs with his consent, and was accordingly proclaimed Emperor. A.D. 1351. Hig. 752. mounts the throne.

He, the very first day of his reign, gave orders to ransom many prisoners, who, during the late confusion, had fallen into the hands of the people of Tatta: and, upon the third day, he marched against the Mogul mercenaries, took many of their chiefs prisoners, and forced the rest to fly towards their own country. He, soon after, directed his march to the fort of Bicker, and gladdened the face of the court with princely presents, and gave very liberally to the zemindars of Bicker and Sewistan. He from thence sent Ahmed and Ali Ghori against the rebel Tiggi, with a part of his army, and marched himself towards Outch, where he did many acts of benevolence and charity. Defeats the Mogul mercenaries.

At Outch the Emperor received advices from Delhi, that Jehan, who was a relation of the late Emperor, now about ninety years of age, had placed upon the throne a boy whom he had adopted, by the name of Mahommed, and had massacred a number of the citizens who had refused to pay him allegiance. Ferose sent Shanapil to expostulate with the old man, who, he thought, was now in the dotage of years, with promises of forgiveness and favour, if he would relinquish his ridiculous scheme. The Emperor himself, in the mean time, remained with the army, to regulate the territory of Outch. He was soon after joined by Muckbil the vizier of the empire, who received an honorary dress, and a confirmation of his former dignity. Affairs at Delhi.

Ferose having reached Hassi, on his way to Delhi, met an ambassador from Jehan, acquaint- Jehan sends an embassy to the Sultan.

 ing

A.D. 1351. Hig. 752. ing him, that now the empire was in the hands of Mahommed's family, and therefore, that it would be no more than justice in him to acknowledge the title of the young King, and act as regent during the minority. Ferose immediately convened the Omrahs before the ambassador, and asked them whether they knew any of the male issue of Mahommed. They all declared, that unless Molana Cumal, an Omrah then present, knew, they were perfectly strangers to any surviving issue of Mahommed. Molana made answer, that though one should remain of the issue of the former Emperor, it was now adviseable to stand by what was already done. We have reason to believe, from this circumstance, that the youth who was set up at Delhi, was actually a son of Mahommed, though it was, at that time, prudent in the Omrahs not to acknowledge him.

who desires to accommodate matters amicably.

The Emperor, after the council, sent Zada the ambassador back to acquaint Jehan of what had passed, and to advise him to accommodate matters in an amicable way. When Zada arrived in the city, a number of the principal men in the place hastened to the camp of Ferose, and made their submission. Much about the same time, advices were received from Guzerat, that the rebel Tiggi was defeated by Ahmed: and, that very day, a son was born to the Emperor, whom he named Fatti. These fortunate circumstances concurred to strengthen the interest of Ferose.

Jehan submits.

Jehan, perceiving that he could not support the young King, made overtures towards an accommodation to Ferose. He sent some respectable Omrahs to intercede with the Emperor for his pardon, and to solicit leave to pay his respects in person. Ferose consented, and accordingly the old man, with his head bare, and his turban

turban hung round his neck, came accompani-ed by some of the principal men of his party to make his submission. The King, according to his promise, gave him his life, but ordered the chief magistrate of Hassi to take him under his care, which was a kind of imprisonment. Chattab, one of Jehan's associates, was banished to Karkinda, and Gustami expelled the court. A. D. 1351. Hig. 753.

Upon the second day of Regib, in the year 752, Ferose marched into Delhi, and mounted the imperial throne. He immediately began to administer impartial justice to his people, who flocked from all quarters with their petitions. He, in the mean time, conferred offices and titles upon his Omrahs. Upon the fifth of Siffer, in the following year, he, in order to hunt, removed his court towards the hills of Sirmore, and reduced several zemindars to obedience. He, in the mean time, had a son born to him at Delhi, whom he named Mahommed, and ordered great rejoicings to be made upon the occasion, distributing his favours with a liberal hand. Ferose arrives at Delhi.

In the year 754, the Emperor hunted at Callanore. He ordered, upon his return, a palace to be built upon the banks of the Sursuti; and towards the end of the year appointed one Jehan to the viceroyship of Delhi. He himself, in the mean time, marched towards Bengal, to subdue Elias, who had assumed the imperial title, and possessed himself of all Bengal and Behar, even to Benaris. When he had arrived in the neighbourhood of Gorupoor, the zemindars of that place, having brought proper presents, were admitted to his presence. Ferose having penetrated as far as Pundua, one of the residences of the princes of Bengal, Elias retreated to a strong post, whither the Emperor pursued him. An action ensued; but Elias secured himself in his post, which obliged the Emperor to surround Rebellion in Bengal.

him,

A. D. 1353. Hig. 754. him, the place being almost inaccessible. Things having continued in this situation for twenty days, Ferose, intending to change his ground, and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out to reconnoitre. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, advanced out of their post, and drew up in order of battle. But, when they saw that the Emperor was preparing to attack them, they again retreated within their works, but with such precipitation and confusion, that 44 elephants, and many standards, fell into the Emperor's hands. The rainy season coming on with great violence, a kind of peace was patched up between them, and the Emperor returned disappointed to Delhi.

Ferose employs himself in public works. In the year 755, Ferose built the city of Feroseabad, adjoining to that of Delhi; and in the following year marched to Debalpoor, where he made a canal 100 miles in length, from the Sutuluz to the Jidger. In the year 757, between the hills of Mendouli and Sirmore, he cut a channel from the Jumna, which he divided into seven streams; one of which he brought to Hassi, and from thence to Beraisen, where he built a strong castle, calling it by his own name. He drew, soon after, a canal from the Cagar, passing by the walls of Sirsutti, and joined it to the rivulet of Kera, upon which he built a city, named after him, Feroseabad. This city he watered with another canal from the Jumna. These public works were of prodigious advantage to the adjacent countries, by supplying them with water for their lands, and with a commodious water-carriage from place to place.

Bengal and the Decan become independent. An embassy about this time arrived, with presents and new conditions of peace from Bengal, which Ferose accepted, and soon after ratified the treaty. Bengal became, in a great measure, independent of the empire, paying only a small acknow-

acknowledgement annually, by way of present. He exacted no other terms of the Decan; so that these two great members were now lopt off from the government of Delhi. In the year 759, the king of Bengal sent a number of elephants and other rich presents to Delhi, which was amply repaid in Arabian and Persian horses, jewels, and other rich curiosities. But when the imperial embassy arrived at Behar, they received news of the death of Shumse, king of Bengal, and that his son Ascunder had acceded to the throne. They thought proper not to proceed further, and returned to Delhi. The Emperor being, in the same year, encamped at Semana, received advices that the Moguls had made an incursion as far as Debalpoor. He forthwith ordered a general, with a great army, against them; but the Moguls, before his arrival, had laden themselves with spoil, and retreated towards their own country. A.D. 1357. Hig. 759.

Notwithstanding the treaty of 757, Ferose, in the year 760, resolved upon another expedition into Bengal. Having arrived at Zifferabad, he cantoned there his army, during the rains. When he lay at this place, Bustami, who had been banished, returned embassador from the Calipha of Egypt*, with a chelat; for which he was graciously received, and dignified with the title of Azim. An embassy having been, in the mean time, dispatched to Ascunder, the new king of Bengal, returned with another on his part, and with rich presents. The King not being satisfied with these concessions, marched, after the rains were over, towards that country, and, on his way, conferred the ensigns of royalty upon the The Emperor invades Bengal.

* After the taking of Bagdat by Halacu, king of Persia, the grandson of Zingis, one of the family of Abassi, assumed the title of Calipha in Egypt.

A. D. 1358. Hig. 760. the prince Fatti his son. He gave him masters for his instruction, to whom the royal youth gave great attention. Ferose having arrived at Pundwah, Ascunder, after the example of his father, retreated to Ackdalla, and shut himself up in that place. Being however closely invested, and reduced to great straits, he sent 48 elephants, and other presents, to the Emperor, with overtures of peace. In a few days the terms were agreed upon, and Ferose marched to Jionpoor, where he cantoned his army for another season, and then moved down behind the mountains towards Jagenagur.

Ferose ravages Jagenagur. Ferose having crossed the river Mendri, arrived at the capital of the Indian prince of Jagenagur, which was also called Benaris. The Raja, upon the Emperor's approach, fled towards Tillingana. Having plundered the country, Ferose returned, and, upon his way, was met by the prince of Beerban, who presented him with 37 elephants, and other valuable presents, upon consideration of not ravaging his country. The Emperor having received the presents, changed his route, and, as he passed through the woods of Pudmawitti, which abounded with elephants, he caught 33 of them, and killed a few in the chace. He then continued his march, and arrived at Delhi in the year 762.

Schemes for improving the lands of Sirhind. Ferose, who had much at heart the improvement of his country, was informed, that near Hirdar, in the province of Sirhind, there was a mountain from which there issued a great stream of water, which fell into the Suttuluz; and that beyond that place there was a small rivulet called Selima, divided only by a rising ground from the large stream which we have just mentioned. The Emperor considered, that, by making a cut through this eminence, the great stream might be carried into the rivulet, and so form a river

to

to water the countries of Sirhind, and Munsurpoor; from whence it might be carried to Sunnam, and so render great tracts of land fertile. He therefore marched immediately that way, and ordered fifty thousand labourers to be collected together to cut the passage. When the workmen were in this place employed in digging to great depth, they found some immense skeletons of elephants in one place, and, in another, those of a gigantic human form, the arm-bones of which measured one yard. Some of the bones were in their natural state, and others petrified. A.D. 1360. Hig. 762.

The Emperor, having finished this great work, built a fort at Sirhind, which he called Ferosepoor. He, from that place, marched towards the mountains of Nagracut, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow. He however reduced the Raja of those parts, after sustaining some loss on his side, and confirmed him again in his dominions; changing the name of Nagracut, to that of the city of Mahommed, in honour of the former Emperor. Ferose was told here, that the Goddess, whom the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagracut*, was the image of Noshaba, the wife of the great Secunder, which that conqueror had left with them. The name of the idol is now changed to that of Jewallamucki. In the temple there was also, at Ferose reduces Nagracut.

 that

* Some authors relate, that the image now worshipped at Nagracut, is not that of Noshaba, which, say they, Ferose sent to Mecca, where it was buried before the door of the great mosque. It is not improbable, but Alexander, who penetrated to the Indies, might have left an image of the Grecian Goddesses upon the frontiers of his conquests. The Brahmins might have, with less absurdity, converted this foreign Goddess into one of their own growth, than those holy persons at Rome, who have changed the statue of Jupiter Tonans into one of St. Peter; disgracing, with a parcel of keys, that hand which formerly held the thunder.

A. D. 1372. Hig. 774.

that time, a fine library of the books of the Brahmins, consisting of one thousand and three hundred volumes. Ferose ordered one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into the Persian language, and called it the arguments of Ferose.

Invests Tatta,

The Emperor, after the conquest of Nagracut, moved down the Indus towards Tatta, where Jambani, who had always been a subject of Delhi, had rebelled and fortified himself. The imperial army invested the city; but as provisions and forage became excessively scarce, and the rains had set in with great violence, Ferose was obliged to raise the siege, and march to Guzerat. He there spent the season in hunting, and, after the rains, he conferred the government of Guzerat upon Ziffer, and returned again to Tatta. Jambani capitulated, and delivered himself up to Ferose, who carried him, and the principals of his faction, to Delhi; but, after some time, he took him again into favour, and sent him to resume his former government.

which he reduces.

The vizier and prince royal die.

In the year 774, Jehan, the vizier, died, and his son was honoured with his titles. Nothing remarkable happened till two years after, when the Emperor was plunged into affliction by the death of his favourite son Fatte, a prince of great expectations. Ferose, in the year 778, was informed, that the revenues of Guzerat was greatly deficient of the collections. This induced him to listen to the proposals of Wamagbani, who offered to give one hundred elephants, forty lacks of rupees, four hundred Abyssinian slaves, and forty Arabian horses, every year, over and above the present payment, should he be appointed to that government. The Emperor replied, that if the present viceroy, the successor of Ziffer, who was dead, would consent to

to give as much, he should be continued. But to this the viceroy would not agree, and therefore the imperial mandates were granted to Wamaghani, and he forthwith set out for Guzerat. Not being able the next year to perform his promise, he withheld the revenue, and rebelled, which was a just punishment upon Ferose for his folly and avarice. The rebel, however, having greatly oppressed the people of his province, a conspiracy was formed against him, and, by the assistance of the Mogul mercenaries, who were settled in that country, they seized him, and sent his head to Delhi. This was the only rebellion which happened during this Emperor's reign. The government of Guzerat was conferred upon Musirra, with the title of Firhit ul Muluck. A. D. 1379. Hig. 781.

There was a petty insurrection among the zemindars of Atava, in the year 779. It was however soon crushed, and the insurgents brought to punishment, while forts were built to keep them in proper subjection. In the year 781, Ferose marched towards Samana, Amballa, and Shawabad, as far as the foot of the mountains of Saitoor, and, after demanding his tribute from the princes of the hills, which they paid him, he returned to his capital. An insurrection at Atava.

Much about this time information was brought to the Emperor, that the zemindar of Kitter, whose name was Kirgu, had invited Mahommed, governor of Budaoon, and a number of his family, to his house, where he basely assassinated them. The Emperor, enraged at this villany, marched immediately that way, and took severe vengeance upon the associates and kindred of the assassin, putting them without distinction to the sword, and levelling their houses with the ground. The murderer himself made his escape to the mountains of Cumaoon, and was protected by the Seid Mahommed's death revenged.

A.D. 1385. Hig. 787. the Indian princes of those parts. Ferose ordered a detachment of his army against them. They brought back near thirty thousand of those unhappy mountaineers, who were all condemned to slavery. The Emperor's justice, in this case, degenerated into extreme severity. Neither did the misfortunes brought upon those miserable captives satisfy his thirst for revenge. He returned, every year, under pretence of hunting, to that unhappy country; but the people, and not the beasts of the forest, were his prey. He by degrees cut off all the inhabitants, and converted whole provinces into a wilderness.

The Emperor becomes aged and infirm.

Age and infirmity began, in the year 787, to press hard upon Ferose. Jehan, the vizier, having the sole management of affairs, became very powerful in the empire. The Emperor was so much under his direction in all things, that he had the effrontery falsely to accuse Mahommed, the King's son, of a design against his father's life, in conjunction with several Omrahs. He brought the old man firmly to credit this accusation, and obtained his authority to secure the supposed conspirators. Ziffer was accordingly recalled from his government of Mahoba, and confined.

The prince's contrivance to undeceive the King.

A party was sent to seize the prince, who, having previous intelligence of the design against him, began to provide for his security, placing guards, and fortifying himself in his own palace. In this situation he remained shut up for some days; and at last, having obtained leave for his wife to visit the King's Zinnana, he put on his armour, went into the close chair, and was carried into the Seraglio. When he discovered himself in that dress, the frightened women ran screaming into the Emperor's apartment, and told him, that the prince had come in armour with

with a treasonable design. The prince having followed them, presented himself to his father, and falling at his feet, told him with great emotion, "That the suspicions he had entertained of him were worse than death itself. That he came therefore to receive it from his own hands. But first he begged leave to inform him, that he was perfectly innocent of the villainous charge which the vizier had purposely contrived to pave his own way to the throne." A.D. 1387. Hig. 789.

Ferose, sensible of his son's sincerity, clasped him in his arms, and weeping, told him, he had been deceived; and therefore desired him to proceed, as his judgement should direct him, against the traitor. Mahommed upon this went out from the presence, and ordered twelve thousand horse to be in readiness. With this body he surrounded the vizier's house that night, who, upon hearing of the prince's approach, put Ziffer to death, and collecting his friends, came out to engage him in the street. Upon the first onset, the traitor was wounded and drew back to his house. He fled immediately towards Mewat, and the prince seized all his wealth, and cut off his adherents. The vizier punished.

Ferose, immediately after these transactions, resigned the reins of government into the hands of his son, and abdicated the throne. The prince, assuming the name of Mahommed *, ascended the throne in the month of Shaban 789; and immediately ordered the Chutba to be read in his own and his father's name. He settled the offices of state, and distributed honorary dresses among the Omrahs. Facoob, an Omrah in great repute, was promoted to the government of Guzerat, with the title of Secunder Chan. Ferose resigns the crown to his son.

Secunder

* His titles were, Nazir ul Dien, ul Dunia.

A. D. 1387. Hig. 789.

The vizier delivered up and slain.

Secunder having arrived at Mewat, upon his way to his government, Goga, with whom Jehan, the vizier, had taken refuge, fearing the new Emperor's resentment, seized him, and sent him bound to Secunder, who cut off his head, and sent it to Delhi. Mahommed went with his army, in the year 790, towards the mountains of Sirmore, to hunt, according to the custom of sovereigns. When he was employed in the diversion of the chace, advices were received that Musirra, governor of Guzerat, at the head of the Mogul mercenaries settled in that country, had risen in rebellion, defeated, and slain Secunder, who had been appointed to succeed him. The Emperor hastened to Delhi; but, as if all at once infatuated, he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, and seemed to be insensible of the loss which he had sustained, and of the dangers in which his conduct had involved him. When his old Omrahs attempted to rouse him from his lethargy, he turned them from his presence, and filled their offices with pimps and court flatterers.

Baha conspires against the Emperor.

The Emperor's nephew, Baha, resolved to rush upon him in the midst of his dream of pleasure. He, for this purpose, conspired with the disgraced Omrahs, and arming one hundred thousand slaves, erected the standard of rebellion. Mahommed immediately dispatched Malleck Lahori to treat with the rebels; when he came to their camp, which was pitched without the city, the mob pelted him with stones, and obliged him to retire, very much bruised and wounded. Mahommed seeing no hopes of a peaceable accommodation, began at length to bestir himself, and advanced with his army against the conspirators, and, after a bloody contest, drove them into the city; they immediately possessed themselves of the palace, and again renewed the fight. The city became now a horrid scene

A dreadful massacre in the city,

scene of slaughter and confusion. During the space of two days and two nights, there was nothing but death in every street; friends and foes, victors and vanquished, were jumbled together without any possibility of distinction.

A.D. 1387. Hig. 789.

The old King placed between the combatants.

The slaves, upon the third day, brought out the old King in his palakie, and set him down in the street between the combatants. When Mahommed's troops saw their former master, their affection returned, and imagining that this was a voluntary deed of his, they at once deserted the prince, and crowded with shouts of joy to Ferose. Mahommed fled instantly, with a small retinue, to the mountains of Sirmore. Both parties looking up to the aged monarch, settled themselves into peace in his presence. Ferose, unable to govern on account of the infirmities of age, placed, by advice of the Omrahs, Tuglick, the son of his eldest son, prince Fatte, upon the throne. The slaves, in the mean time, assassinated Hassen, the Emperor's son-in-law, for having endeavoured to support Mahommed: and even the first orders issued by Tuglick, when he mounted the imperial throne, was to kill all the adherents of Mahommed, wherever they should be found.

Ferose dies. His character.

Ferose, who had arrived at the age of ninety, died in the year 790. Though no great warrior in the field, he was, by his excellent qualities, well calculated for a reign of peace. His severity to the inhabitants of Cumaoon, for the assassination of the governor of Samana, is a great blot in his reputation. But to this he perhaps was prompted by a religious zeal and enthusiasm: for the persons murdered were seids or descendants of the prophet. He reigned thirty-eight years and nine months, and left many memorials of his magnificence in the land. He built fifty great sluices, forty mosques, thirty schools, twen-

ty

A. D. 1388. Hig, 790.

ty caravanseras, an hundred palaces, five hospitals, an hundred tombs, ten baths, ten spires, one hundred and fifty wells, one hundred bridges; and the pleasure gardens he made were without number.

State of Asia.

The Empire of Persia continued under petty princes till Timur-Bec, commonly called Tamerlane in Europe, mounted the throne of the kingdoms of Zagatay, which comprehended all Maver-ul-nere, or Transoxiana, and the provinces of Cabul, Zabulistan, and others towards the Indus. After the conquest of the northern Tartary, he turned his arms against Persia, and entered Chorassan, seven years before the death of Ferose, the Patan Emperor of Hindostan. He completed the conquest of Persia in less than five years, and when Ferose died, Timur was employed in the reduction of the provinces upon the Euphrates.

TUG-

TUGLICK II.

TUGLICK*, having mounted the throne in the palace of Feroseabad, ordered, according to custom, the Chutba to be read, and the currency to be struck in his own name. He appointed Ferose Ali his vizier, by the title of Jehan, and confirmed Musirra, the rebellious governor, in his command of Guzerat. He soon after sent an army under the vizier, to expel his uncle Mahommed from Sirmore, and that prince, upon the approach of the imperial army, fled to the mountains; he there took possession of a strong post, and securing the wives and children of his adherents, waited to give the imperialists battle: he was however beat from post to post, till he arrived at Nagracut, and shut himself up in that place. That fortress being very strong, his enemies did not think proper to besiege it, and therefore returned to Delhi.

A. D. 1388. Hig. 790.

Tuglick mounts the throne.

Tuglick giving reins to his youthful passions, and neglecting the affairs of state, vice, luxury and oppression began to rise up on every side. He was not blind to those misfortunes, but he mistook the cause, and admitted jealousy and mistrust within his mind. He confined, and treated cruelly, his own brother, Sallar; and his cousin, Abu Bicker, having reason to dread the Emperor's resentment, fled the court, and, to secure himself, stirred up a faction against Tuglick: the conspirators consisted of Rukun, the vizier's deputy, and several other Omrahs of high

Mal-administration of the Emperor.

A conspiracy.

* His titles were Yeas-ul-Dien.

A.D. 1389. Hig. 791. high repute, with all the imperial slaves, many of whom were in the highest offices at court.

Matters being ripe for execution, the conspirators rushed into the Divan, and assassinated Mubarick, the captain general of the forces. Tuglick being thus surprised, fled by the Jumna gate. Rukun pursued him, and having taken him and Jehán the vizier, they were immediately He is slain. put to death. This event happened on the twenty-first of Siffer, in the year 791: Tuglick, after a reign of five months and a few days, having fallen by the effects of the folly of youth.

ABU

ABU BICKER.

THE conspirators, having assassinated the King, raised Abu Bicker, the grandson of the Emperor Ferose, by his third son, to the empire. Rukun, being appointed vizier, took the reins of government in his own hands. But his ambition was not satisfied with that high employ. He formed schemes to cut off the new King, and to usurp the throne. Abu Bicker having timely information of his intentions, was before-hand with him, and ordered him, and many of the principal slaves concerned in the conspiracy, to be put to death.

A.D. 1389. Hig. 791.

Abu Bicker mounts the throne.

In the mean time, the Mogul chiefs of Samana assassinated the viceroy, Sultan, the fast friend of the reigning Emperor, and sent his head to the prince Mahommed at Nagracut: they earnestly solicited him to come and assert his right to the empire. Mahommed accordingly, having collected his friends, advanced by the way of Jallendar to Samana, and proclaiming himself King at that place, advanced with a great army towards Delhi. After some repulses, Mahommed, as we shall see in the sequel, proved victorious, and sent Abu Bicker to his grave, upon the twentieth of Zihige, in the year 792, when he had reigned one year and six months.

Mahommed enters Delhi.

MAHOMMED IV.

A.D. 1389. Hig. 792. Mahommed enters Delhi. Is driven from the city with great slaughter.

MAHOMMED*, as we have already seen, mounted the throne in his father's life-time, in the year 789. How he was deposed and expelled by Baha, and the other Omrahs, in confederacy with the Mogul mercenaries of Guzerat, and the slaves of the household, and his transactions, till he shut himself up in the fort of Nagracut, has been also related. When the chiefs of the Moguls had assassinated the governor of Samana, Mahommed, according to their invitation, marched with great expedition from Nagracut, calling all his friends from Delhi. He soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand horse, with which he advanced towards the capital. Upon the fifth of the first Ribbi, in the year 792, he entered Delhi, and alighted at the palace of Jehan. The Emperor, Abu Bicker, in the other quarter of the city, called Feroseabad, prepared himself for battle; and on the second of the first Jemmad, the two armies engaged in the streets of Feroseabad. In the mean time Nahir, with a strong reinforcement, arrived, and joining Abu Bicker, they marched out of Feroseabad next morning, and drove Mahommed, with great slaughter, quite out of Delhi.

Mahom-

* Nasir ul dunia ul dien, Mahommed Shaw.

Mahommed retreated with two thousand horse only, over the Jumna; and immediately dispatched Humaioon, his son, and several Omrahs, to Samana, to recruit his army. He himself, in the mean time, remained in the town of Tillasar, upon the banks of the Ganges. Having experienced from first to last, that the slaves of Ferose were his declared enemies, he gave orders to plunder all their estates in the neighbouring country, and to slay them wherever they should be found. The zemindars fell upon some thousands, who had possessions in other parts of the empire, and massacred them; while the farmers in general, disgusted with Abu Bicker's government, which had been very oppressive, withheld their rents, and enlisted themselves under Mahommed.

A.D. 1389. Hig. 792.

He send to raise forces.

In the mean time, the viceroy of Moultan, and many Omrahs of note, having joined Mahommed with their forces, he collected, in a few days, an army of fifty thousand horse, made the usual appointments in the empire to please his friends, and advanced a second time towards Delhi. Abu Bicker had remained inactive in that city ever since his late victory; he, however, drew out his army at a village called Hindali, to oppose Mahommed, and was so fortunate as to come off victorious once more: he drove Mahommed towards Tillasar, but contented himself with pursuing him three crores, and with taking his baggage, and then returned to his capital.

Is again over-thrown.

Humaioon, the son of Mahommed, not many days after the battle of Hindali, with the troops he had raised at Samana, made another attempt upon the capital, but succeeded no better than his father, being defeated at Paniput, and obliged to retreat towards Samana. But after all these successes, Abu Bicker thought it unsafe to

His son defeated.

 leave

A.D. 1390. Hig. 793. leave the capital, being suspicious of a faction in the city in favour of Mahommed. Having at length punished some of the most disaffected, he ventured to march about forty miles towards Tillasar, where Mahommed was again collecting an army. The latter having, by this time, concerted measures with his faction in the city, left the body of his army, with all his baggage, at Tillasar, and advanced, with four thousand chosen horse, towards Abu Bicker. When Abu Bicker had drawn up his army, Mahommed made a quick motion to the left, and passing the enemy's line, pushed forward to the capital. He there engaged the troops of Abu Bicker, who guarded the walls, and having set fire to the Budaoon gate, forced his way into the city. He immediately entered the imperial palace, whither the citizens flocked to pay him their respects. But Abu Bicker having closely pursued Mahommed, arrived the same day before the city; and having forced the guards which Mahommed had placed at the gates, advanced to the palace, and drove that prince, whose troops had dispersed themselves, quite out of the city. He was obliged to retreat again to Tillasar, where he joined his army, having lost the major part of his detachment in the action.

Mahommied, by a forced march, enters Delhi.

Is again driven out by Abu Bicker.

Some time having thus passed without any decisive action, Hagib, chief of the imperial slaves, known by the title of Islam, disgusted with Abu Bicker, wrote to Mahommed, that if he would make another attempt upon the city, he would support him with the greatest part of the slaves who were under his direction. Abu Bicker hearing that Mahommed was again in motion, and having also discovered the disaffection of the slaves and others in his army, shamefully abandoned the capital, and fled with a small retinue. Mahommed,

Abu Bicker abandons Delhi.

hommed, in the month of Ramzan, entered Delhi, and ascended the imperial throne. He gave the office of vizier to Islam, to whom he principally owed his restoration. When he found himself firmly established, he ordered all the elephants, which belonged to the slaves of Ferose, to be taken from them, and converted to his own use. The slaves, enraged at this injustice, fled the city that night, and hastened to join Abu Bicker. Mahommed, upon this desertion, turned out a few who remained, and ordered them, upon pain of death, never to appear in the city, where they had acquired such dangerous influence. Notwithstanding this decree, many slaves, unwilling to leave Delhi, concealed themselves: a search was ordered to be made, and such as were found were massacred. Some of those poor wretches, upon this occasion, cried out for mercy, affirming that they were originally Tartars. They were, upon this, ordered to pronounce the word Gurragurri, by which they were immediately distinguished. All who sounded it with the accent of Hindostan were put to death. A.D. 1390. Hig. 793.

Mahommed, after having expelled the slaves, began to recruit his army, and sent Humaioon, his son, with a considerable force, against the Emperor Abu Bicker. When this army arrived at Kotluh, Abu Bicker, by advice of Nahir, surprized Humaioon in his camp. The prince, however, exerted his utmost efforts in opposing the enemy, being gallantly supported by the vizier, drove Abu Bicker, after a brave resistance, quite off the field. Mahommed marched at the same time, with great expedition, towards Mewat, where Abu Bicker seeing no hopes left, surrendered himself, and was sent prisoner to the fort Humaioon marching against Abu Bicker. Abu Bicker surrenders himself.

A.D. 1390. Hig. 793. fort of Merat, where he died some years after.

Rebellion in Guzerat. Mahommed returning to Delhi, received advices that Musirra, governor of Guzerat, rebelled. Ziffer was immediately dispatched with an army to suppress the rebellion; but for the particulars of this expedition, we must refer the reader to the history of the province of Guzerat *. In the year 794 intelligence was brought to Delhi, that the prince Nirsingh, Sirvadon chief of the Mahrattors, and Bircban of Bessu, chiefs of the Hindoos, had rose in arms against the empire. Mahommed ordered the vizier, with a considerable force, against Narsingh, the most powerful of the insurgents. Narsingh was defeated, made peace, and attended the conqueror to Delhi. The other two chiefs were subjugated at the same time. The zemindars of Attava, upon account of some grievance, rose in arms, and ravaged Bittaram and the adjacent districts. Mahommed marched against them in person, and chastised them. The fort of Attava was levelled with the ground, and the Emperor took the route of Kinnoge and Tillasar, in the last of which cities he built a fort, which, from his own name, he called Mahommed-abad.

The vizier falsely accused of treason. Advice came to the Emperor from Delhi, that the vizier was preparing to fly to Lahore and Moultan, to kindle in those provinces the flames of rebellion. Mahommed hastened to the capital, and charged him with his treasonable intentions. The vizier absolutely denied the fact, but Jaju a Hindoo and his own nephew, swore falsely

* Our author's second volume, in the original Persian, treats of the particular history of all the provinces in Hindostan.

falsely against him. Mahommed, being either convinced of his vizier's guilt, or instigated by a jealousy of his power, condemned him to die. Jehan, who was perhaps a no small promoter of the vizier's fall, was advanced to his office. Muckurrib, who made a figure in the next reign, was, at the same time, appointed governor of Mahommed-abad. A.D. 1391. Hig. 794. Is put to death.

In the year 795, Sirvadon chief of the Mahrattors, and Bireban of Bessu, appeared in arms; and Muckurrib was ordered, with the troops at Mahommed-abad, against them. The Emperor, about this time, marched to Mewat, to quell some disturbances in that place. Upon his return to Mahommed-abad, he was taken ill of a dangerous fever, which rendered him delirious for some days. When he was in this condition, news was brought, that Nahir* had plundered the country to the gates of Delhi. The Emperor, though far from being recovered of his illness, hastened to Mewat. Nahir, who headed the rebels, drew up his army at Kottilab, and gave Mahommed battle; but he was defeated, and fled to Jidger. Mahommed falls sick.

Mahommed, after this victory, returned to Mahommed-abad, and, in the month of Ribbi, the second of the year 796, sent his son Humaioon, to crush the prince of the Gickers, who had rebelled, and possessed himself of Lahore. But before the prince had left Delhi, news was brought to him of his father's decease; for the Emperor, having relapsed into his former disorder, expired on the 17th of Ribbi the second, at Mahommed-abad. He reigned about six years and His death.

* An adherent of Abu Bicker.

A.D. 1392. Hig. 793. and seven months, and his body was deposited at Delhi with his fathers.

Humaioon ascends the throne. Mahommed being mixed with the dead, his son Humaioon ascended the throne, by the name of Secunder. He continued or confirmed all his father's officers; but being in a few days taken with a violent disorder, he went the way of his fathers, after a reign of forty-five days. Dies.

MAMOOD

MAMOOD III.

WHEN Humaioon yielded to the power of his fate, violent disputes arose among the nobles about the succession. They at last fixed upon Mamood*, an infant son of the Emperor Mahommed, whom they placed upon the throne by the name of Mamood Shaw; while Jehan remained in the office of vizier, and absolute government of the state. Muckirrib, governor of Mahommed-abad, was made captain-general of the forces. Sadit was appointed lord of the audience, Saring Chan governor of Debalpoor, and Dowlat nominated to the office of chief secretary of the empire. A. D. 1393. Hig. 796. Mamood, an infant, placed on the throne. Promotions at court.

The apparent debility of the empire, arising from the King's minority, and dissentions of the Omrahs, encouraged all the Hindoos around to kindle the flames of rebellion; particularly those of the eastern provinces. Jehan, the vizier, upon this occasion, assumed the title of King of the East, and proceeded towards Behar with a great army. He soon reduced that country Distractions in the empire.

* Nasir ul dien, Mamood Shaw.

A.D. 1393. Hig. 796. try to obedience, and having at the same time forced the Prince of Bengal to pay him the customary tribute, he returned, and fixed his residence at Jionpoor. While Jehan thus established himself, in opposition to his master, in the East, Saring, governor of the provinces near the Indus, began to form an independency in the West. Having, as suba of Debalpoor, collected the troops of the province of Moultan, and the north-west division of the empire, he advanced against the Gickers, who waited for him at Adjodin, about twenty-four miles from Lahore. A battle immediately ensued, and the Gickers, being defeated, were obliged to take refuge among the mountains of Jimbo. Saring, after this victory, left his brother Adil in the government of Lahore, and returned himself to Debalpoor.

Mamood marched to Biana and Gualier. Mamood this year, having left Delhi in charge of Muckirrib the captain-genéral, marched towards Gualier and Biana, accompanied by Sadit and many of the chief Omrahs. When the King had arrived in the neighbourhood of Gualier, Mubarick, Eckbal the brother of Saring, and Alla, conspired against the life of Sadit. But Sadit, having timely information of the plot, slew Mubarick and Alla, while Eckbal escaped to Delhi. Though the conspiracy was thus quashed, the confusions which were the consequences of it, obliged the Emperor to return to the capital, without prosecuting the scheme of reducing those territories to obedience.

The gates of Delhi shut against him. The distractions in the empire began now to multiply exceedingly. Mamood arriving in the neighbourhood of Delhi, Muckirrib, the captain-general, came out to pay his respects. But having on his way understood that Sadit had sworn vengeance against him for affording protection to

to Eckbal, he fled back to the city, and, shutting the gates against the Prince, prepared to make a resolute defence. The city in short was besieged for three months, till the King being assured that the war was commenced, and continued on account of Sadit, accommodated matters with Muckirrib, and in the month of Mohirrim 797, was admitted into Delhi. A.D. 1394. Hig. 797.

Muckirrib, encouraged by the coming over of this Prince, marched the next day out of the city, with all his force, against Sadit; but he was beat back with great loss. The rains had now come on, and it being impossible for Sadit to keep the field, he struck his tents, and marched into Feroseabad. He immediately sent for Nuserit, the son of the prince Fatte, the eldest son of the Emperor Ferose, from Mewat, and set him up in opposition to Mamood, by the title of Nuserit Shaw. Under the name of this Prince, Sadit began to manage the affairs of that part of the empire which adhered to Nuserit. But a new faction breaking out in his government, disconcerted his measures. The slaves of the Emperor Ferose, disgusted with his behaviour towards them, prevailed upon the keepers of the elephants to join them. They forcibly placed Nuserit upon an elephant, advanced against Sadit, and drove him quite out of the city of Feroseabad, before he had time to prepare for his own defence. To avoid one danger, the unfortunate Sadit fell into another; for having sought protection under Muckirrib, the captain-general, he was by him put to death. Another Emperor set up by Sadit. He is slain.

The misfortunes of the state daily increased. The Omrahs of Feroseabad, and some of the provinces, espoused the cause of Nuserit. Those of Delhi, and others, supported the title of Mamood. The uncommon misfortunes of the empire.

A.D. 1394. Hig. 797. Mamood. The whole empire fell into a state of anarchy, confusion, and distraction. A civil war was kindled in every corner, and, a thing unheard of before, two Kings, in arms against one another, resided in one capital. Things however remained in this unfortunate situation for three years, with a surprizing equality on both sides; for if one monarch's party had at any time a superiority over the other, it was a singularity of misfortunes. It was not a state of war, but a continued battle between the two cities: thousands were killed almost every day, and the place of the slain was constantly supplied by reinforcements from different parts of the empire. Some of the subas of the provinces took no part in this civil war. They hoped to see the empire so weakened by public calamities, that they themselves might become independent; and to lay a foundation for their future power, they withheld the customary revenues.

Transactions in the north-west provinces. In the year 798, Saring, the brother of the famous Eckbal, the governor of Debalpoor, having some differences with Chizer, governor of Moultan, made war upon him. After several engagements with various success, victory declared for Saring. He immediately seized Moultan, became very powerful, and, in the year following, advanced with a great army to Samana, which he reduced to his obedience. Nuserit dispatched Tatar, suba of Pannipput, and Almass, with an army, against him. They engaged Saring on the first of Mohirrim, in the year 799, gave him a signal overthrow, and obliged him to fly to Moultan.

The grandson of Timur passes the Indus. Saring received, in that city, intelligence, that the prince Mahommed Jehangir, the grandson

son of Timur*, had built a bridge over the Indus, and that, having crossed that river, he invested Outch. Saring immediately dispatched his deputy, with other Omrahs, and the best part of his army, to reinforce Ali, the deputy of the governor of Outch. Mahommed, hearing of this army, advanced to the Bea, fell upon them by surprize just as they had crossed that river, defeated, and drove them back into the stream; so that more were drowned than fell by the sword. A few of the discomfited army made the best of their way to Moultan. Mahommed kept close at the heels of the runaways, and obliged Saring to shut himself up in Moultan. After a siege of six months he was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender at discretion; and being imprisoned, with all his army, Mahommed took possession of the city. Saring, in a few days, found means to escape: but the country remained in subjection to the Moguls.

A.D. 1397. Hig. 799.

Takes Moultan.

But, to return to the transactions at Delhi, Eckbal, being disgusted with the Emperor Mamood, deserted him. He sent a message to Nuserit, to desire leave to join him with his party. This offer was very readily accepted; they met, went to the palace of Seri, and, upon the Koran, swore mutual friendship at the tomb of Chaja Kaki. During these transactions, Mamood, with Muckirrib the captain-general of his forces, remained in the old city. The perfidious Eckbal, about three days after his desertion, quarrelled with Nuserit, and, not regarding his oath, began to form a conspiracy

Transactions at Delhi.

* Tamerlane.

A.D. 1397. Hig. 799.

Eckbal Chan's perfidy.

spiracy against him. Nuserit being informed of the plot, found himself constrained to quit the palace of Seri. The traitor fell upon him in his retreat, and took all his elephants, treasure and baggage. The unfortunate prince, being in no condition to keep the field, fled to his vizier at Panniput.

A treaty between him and Sultan Mamood.

Eckbal took immediately possession of Feroseabad. His power daily increased, and he now employed it to expel the Emperor Mamood and Muckirrib from the old city. At length, by the mediation of some nobles, peace was concluded between the parties. But Eckbal, peculiarly perfidious, broke through all the sacred ties of the treaty; and setting upon Muckirrib in his own house, by surprize, slew him. He immediately seized Mamood, and left him nothing but his life and the name of Emperor. Eckbal, in the same year, marched from Delhi with Mamood, against Nuserit, and Tatar at Panniput. Tatar, leaving his elephants and baggage in the fort, passed, by forced marches, the army of Eckbal, arrived before Delhi, and invested it. Eckbal, trusting to the strength he left in Delhi, advanced and attacked Panniput, and took it the third day by escalade. He then hastened back to Delhi, and Tatar having failed in his attempt upon that place, fled to his father in Guzerat. Eckbal entering the city, began to regulate the government, which had fallen into the utmost confusion. In the mean time, to complete the miseries of the unhappy city and empire, news arrived, that Timur had crossed the Indus, with an intention to conquer Hindostan.

From

From the year 790 to the present year, Timur extended his conquests over all the Western Asia, reduced the Northern Tartary, and spread his ravages into Russia, as far as the Arctic Circle. A.D. 1398. Hig. 800. State of Asia.

INVASION OF TIMUR-BEC.

TIMUR-BEC, being informed of the commotions and civil wars of India, began his expedition into that country, in the eight hundredth year of the Higerah, and, on the twelfth of Mohirrim, in the following year, arrived on the banks of the Chule Jallali, one of the most westerly branches of the Indus. He immediately dispatched Noor ul Dien to dispossess Mubarick, who, on the part of the king of Delhi, had in charge the defence of the frontier districts. When Noor ul Dien had arrived within a few miles of Mubarick, he summoned him to submit to Timur. But as the imperial general had previously retreated into a strong hold, on the bank of the river, round which he had drawn a ditch, forming the place into an island, he determined to defend himself to the last.

A.D. 1397. Hig. 801.

Tamerlane invades Hindostan.

Noor ul Dien, however, found means, upon making his approaches, to fill up the ditch: but at night he suffered a considerable loss, by a violent sally of the besieged; whom, in the end, he repulsed, and forced to take shelter within the walls. Timur himself advanced against the enemy with his whole army. Mubarick, intimidated by the approach of Timur, stowed privately, in forty boats, his treasure

 and

A. D. 1397. Hig. 801.

and family, and fell down the river, being two days pursued in vain, by Noor ul Dien, who was detached with a party after him. The garrison, after the departure of their leader, immediately surrendered.

Timur proceeded down the river to the conflux of the Jimboo and Chinab, where there was a strong fort and town, known by the name of Tulmubini. He ordered a bridge to be laid across the river, by which his army might pass. Having pitched his camp, without the town, he laid it under a heavy contribution. But whilst the inhabitants were very busy in collecting the sum demanded, a complaint being made in the camp of the scarcity of provisions, orders were issued to seize grain wherever it should be found. The soldiers, upon this, hastened to search the town, but not being content to take provisions alone, the natural consequence was, that a general plunder ensued. The inhabitants, endeavouring to oppose this outrage, were massacred without mercy.

Tamerlane lays Tulmubini under contribution.

To besiege the citadel would but retard the designs of Timur. He therefore marched, the next day after the massacre, to a town called Shawnawaze, where he found more grain than was sufficient to serve his whole army. He therefore ordered, that what could not be carried away should be burnt; having previously cut off Jisserit, the brother of the prince of the Gickers, who had attempted to defend the place with two thousand men. Timur marched, on the third day, from Shawnawaze, and, crossing the Bea, came into a rich and plentiful country.

Shawnawaze pillaged.

It may not be improper here to say something concerning the proceedings of the prince, the grandson of Timur, Pier Mahommed, after his having, as has been already mentioned, taken Moultan.

Moultan. The solstitial rains having destroyed a great part of his cavalry, in the field, he was under the necessity of drawing his army into the city of Moultan. There he was driven to the utmost distress by the inhabitants of the country, who had closely invested him. His cavalry, instead of being able to act against them, diminished daily in their numbers, for want of forage.

A.D. 1397. Hig. 801.

Pier Mahommed blockaded in Moultan.

In this untoward situation were the affairs of that prince, when his grandfather entered Hindostan. Timur immediately reinforced Mahommed with a detachment of thirty thousand chosen horse, and soon after joined him with his whole army. The prince carried in his mind great animosity against the governor of Battenize, who had chiefly distressed him. Timur, to chastise the governor, selected ten thousand horse, with which he marched directly towards him. When he reached Adjodin, he was shewn the tomb of the learned Ferid, the poet, in respect to whose memory he spared the few inhabitants who remained in the place, the greater part having fled to Delhi and Battenize.

Is relieved by Timur,

Timur continued then his march to Battenize, crossing the river of Adjodin, and encamping at Chaliskole, from which place, in one day, he marched one hundred miles to Battenize. Upon his arrival, the people of Debalpoor, and other adjacent towns, crowded into the place in such numbers, that half of them were driven out, and obliged to take shelter under the walls. They were there attacked, the first day, by the king, and some thousands of them slain. Raw Chilligi, who was governor of the place, seeing the enemy so few in number, drew out the garrison, and formed them without the town, in order of battle. The Moguls, however, upon the

who arrives at Battenize,

and invests it.

A.D. 1397. Hig. 801.

the first onset, drove him back within his walls, while the King, in person, pressed so hard upon the enemy's rear, that he possessed himself of the gates before they could be shut. Then driving the runaways from street to street, he became, in a few hours, entirely master of the place, except the citadel; to reduce which, he ordered a party immediately to dismount, and begin to undermine it.

The city taken,

The garrison desired to capitulate, to which Timur agreed; and the governor, having had an interview with the King, presented him with three hundred Arabian horses, and with many of the valuable curiosities of Hindostan. Timur, in return, honoured him with a chelat; and after the conditions were settled, sent Soliman, Sheh, and Omar Ulla, to take possession of the gates, commanding them to slay all those who had taken refuge in the place, and had before been active against his grandson Mahommed. The rest, after being plundered, were ordered to be dismissed.

and the inhabitants put to the sword.

In consequence of this inhuman order, five hundred persons, in a few minutes, were put to death. Those who remained still within the fort, were so struck with this massacre, that they set fire to the place, murdered their wives and children, and, in mere despair, sought after nothing but revenge and death. The scene now became terrible, but the unfortunate inhabitants were, in the end, cut off to a man; they however revenged themselves amply, upon the rapacious and inhuman authors of their distress; some thousands of the Moguls having fallen by their hands. This so much exasperated Timur, that firebrand of the world, that he ordered every soul in Battenize to be massacred, and to reduce the city itself to ashes.

Timur,

Timur, marching to Surusti, put the inhabitants of that place also to the sword, and gave the town up to pillage. Advancing to Fatteabad, he continued the same scene of barbarity, through that, and the adjacent towns of Rahib, Amirani, and Jonah. He detached Hakîm Agherâck towards Sammana, with five thousand horse, and with the few that remained, he himself scoured the country, and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits, who had lived for some years by rapine. His army, in the mean time, being divided under different chiefs, carried fire and sword through all the provinces of Moultan and Lahore; but when they advanced near the capital, he ordered a general rendezvous at Keitil, a town within ten miles of Sammana.

A. D. 1397. Hig. 801.

Several cities taken by Timur, and the inhabitants massacred.

Timur himself soon joined his army, and having regulated the order of his march, advanced towards Delhi. When he reached Panniput, he ordered his soldiers to put on their fighting apparel *; and, that he might be the better supplied with forage, crossed the Jumna, took the fort of Lowni by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. He then marched down along the river, and encamped opposite to the citadel of Delhi, posting guards to prevent all communication. He immediately detached Soliman and Jehan to scour the country behind him to the south and south east of the city; whilst he himself, that very day, with seven hundred horse only, crossed the river to reconnoitre the citadel.

Arrives before Delhi,

which he reconnoitres.

The King of Delhi, and his minister, Eckbal, seeing so few in the retinue of Timur, issued forth with five thousand foot and twenty-seven elephants against him. Sillif, an Omrah of repute in

* Coats stuffed thick with cotton, worn instead of armour.

A.D. 1397. Hig. 801. in Delhi, who led on the attack, was repulsed and taken prisoner by the Moguls. Timur ordered him to be immediately beheaded, and after having made the observations which he had intended, repassed the river and joined his army.

He next morning moved his camp more to the eastward, where he was told, by the princes and generals of his army, that there were then above one hundred thousand prisoners in his camp, who had been taken since he crossed the Indus; that these unfortunate persons had, the day before, expressed great joy, when they saw him attacked before the citadel; which rendered it extremely probable, that, on a day of battle, they would join with their countrymen against him. The inhuman Timur, who might have found other means of prevention, gave orders to put all above the age of fifteen to the sword, so that, upon that horrid day, one hundred thousand men were massacred in cold blood. This barbarity, together with his other actions of equal cruelty, gained him the name of Hillâk Chan, or the destroying Prince. Upon the fifth of the first Jemmad, Timur forded the river with his army without opposition, and encamped on the plains of the city of Firose, a part of Delhi; where he entrenched himself, filling the ditch with buffaloes fronting the enemy. He fastened the buffaloes with ropes and picquets to their stations, placing at the same time strong guards, at proper distances, behind them.

He massacres 100,000 prisoners in cold blood.

Though the astrologers pronounced the seventh an unlucky day, the King marched out of his lines, and drew up his army in order of battle. King Mahmood and Eckbal, with the army of Delhi, and one hundred and twenty elephants in mail, advanced towards him. But upon the very

first

first charge of a squadron, called the Heroes of Chighitta, the elephant-drivers were dismounted, and the outrageous animals, deprived of their guides, ran roaring back, and spread terror and confusion among their own ranks. The veteran troops of Timur, who had already conquered half the world, improved this advantage, and the degenerate Hindoos were, in a few minutes, totally routed, without making one brave effort for their country, lives, and fortunes. The conqueror pursued them, with great slaughter, to the very gates of Delhi, near which he fixed his quarters. A.D. 1397. Hig. 801. totally defeats the enemy,

The consternation of the fugitives was so great, that, not trusting to their walls, Mahmood and his minister deserted in the night their capital; the former flying to Guzerat, the latter taking the route of Berren. Timur having intelligence of their flight, detached parties after them, one of which coming up with Mahmood, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons, Seif ul Dien and Choda Daad, prisoners. Timur received the submission of all the great men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection upon paying great contributions; and upon the Friday following he ordered the royal proclamation and titles to be read in his own name in all the mosques. Upon the sixteenth of the same month he placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scriveners of the city, and magistrates, to regulate the contribution according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was, in the mean time, lodged, that several Omrahs and rich men had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependents, and refused to pay down their share of the ransom: this obliged Timur to send troops into the city, to enforce the authority of the magistrates. who desert the city.

A. D. 1397. Hig. 801.

strates. A general confusion, uproar and plundering immediately ensued, which could not be restrained by the Mogul officers, who, at the same time, durst not acquaint the king that their authority was contemned by the troops.

Timur, according to his custom after success, was then busy in his camp, in celebrating a grand festival on account of his victory, so that it was five days before he received any intelligence of these proceedings. The first notice he had of them was by the flames of the city; for the Hindoos, according to their manner, seeing their wives and daughters ravished and polluted, their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and they themselves insulted, beat, and abused, at length, with one consent, shut the city gates, set fire to their houses, murdered their wives and children, and ran out like madmen against their enemies.

A general massacre in Delhi.

But little effect had the despair of the unfortunate upon the Moguls, who soon collected themselves, and began a general massacre. Some streets were rendered impassable, by the heaps of dead; and, in the mean time, the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army were admitted. Then followed a scene of horror, much easier to be imagined than described. The desperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians was at length cooled in their own blood: they threw down their weapons, they submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter: they permitted one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him; so that we may plainly perceive, that cowardice is the mother of despair. In the city the Hindoos were, at least, ten to one, superior in number to the enemy, and had they possessed souls, it would have been impossible for the Moguls, who were scattered about in every street, house and corner, laden with plunder, to have resisted

resisted the dreadful assault. But though the Indians had the savage resolution of imbruing their hands in the blood of their wives and children, we find them still the slaves of fear, and shrinking at the approach of that death, which they could so readily execute upon others. A.D. 1397. Hig. 801.

This massacre is, in the History of Nizam, otherwise related. The collectors of the ransom, says he, upon the part of Timur, having used great violence, by torture and other means, to extort money, the citizens fell upon them, and killed some of the Moguls. This circumstance being reported to the Mogul king, he ordered a general pillage, and, upon resistance, a massacre to commence. This account carries greater appearance of truth along with it, both from Timur's general character of cruelty, and the improbability of his being five days close to the city, without having intelligence of what passed within the walls. But the imperial race of Timur take, to this day, great pains to invalidate this opinion, nor do they want arguments on their side. The principal one is this, that, in consequence of a general plunder, the king would have been deprived of the ransom, which must have been exceedingly great, and for which he only received the elephants and regalia. Neither have we any account of his taking any part of the plunder from his army afterwards, though it must have been very immense. Another account of the massacre in Delhi.

The king, after this horrid scene, entered the city, taking to himself one hundred and twenty elephants, twelve rhinoceroses, and a number of curious animals, that had been collected by the emperor Ferose. The fine mosque built by that prince, upon the stones of which he had inscribed the history of his reign, being esteemed a master-piece of architecture and taste, took so much the fancy of the conqueror, that he ordered stone- Timur enters Delhi.

cutters

A. D. 1397. Hig. 801. cutters and masons from Delhi to Samarcand, to build one upon the same plan.

Resolves to return. After having staid fifteen days at Delhi, Timur took a sudden resolution of returning, and he accordingly marched out to Firoseabad, whither the Indian governor of Mewat sent him two white parrots, as curiosities, with professions of subjection. The king sent Seid Turmuzi to bring him to the presence, which summons he immediately obeyed; and Chizer*, who had lain concealed in the hills, appeared in the royal presence, and was favourably received.

Arrives at Paniput. The king marching from Firoseabad, arrived at Paniput, from whence he detached Amir Shaw to besiege Merat, a strong fort, situated between the rivers, about sixty miles from Delhi. When Amir Shaw reached the place, upon reconnoitring its strength, and finding the garrison determined to defend it, he mentioned, in a letter to the king, that they insulted him from the walls, by telling him he could succeed no better than Seri, the Mogul prince, who had formerly attempted to take the place.

Besieges and takes Merat. This had the desired effect upon the king, who immediately marched his army against Merat, and, without delay, began to sink his mines, and carry on his approaches; advancing his sap towards the walls, at the rate of fifteen yards every twenty-four hours. Elias Adyhuni, the son of Moluna, Ahmud, and Suffi defended the place with great resolution. But the Moguls having filled up the ditch, placed their scaling ladders, and fastened their hook-ropes to the wall, in spite of all opposition; and, without waiting for a breach by means of the mines, stormed the place, and put every soul within it to the sword. The mines, however, being finished, the king ordered

* Afterwards Emperor.

dered them to be sprung, which blew the walls and bastions into pieces. A. D. 1397. Hig. 801.

Timur continued his march to the skirts of the mountains of Sewalic, marking his way with fire and sword. Crossing then the Ganges, he subdued the country as high as where the river issues from the mountains; returning from thence, he repassed the river, and marched through the hills, where he was opposed by an Indian zemindar, whom he defeated and plundered. He then continued his route, taking several small forts in his way; having arrived at Jimmugur, he fought the raja of that place, who was wounded, taken, and forced to become a mussulman. His progress towards the head of the Ganges.

Jisserit, the brother of the prince of Gickers, who had fled to him after his being defeated by Timur, had by his brother been severely reprimanded for opposing the king; which having been represented to Timur, the prince was admitted into his presence, and became a great favourite. But when the king had marched on to Delhi, he remembered not his obedience, and in the absence of Timur possessed himself of Lahore. The king having returned to Jimbo *, the Gicker refused to submit to his authority. The Sultan sent part of his army to besiege Lahore, which being taken in a few days, the prince was brought prisoner to the king, who ordered him to be instantly beheaded. Lahore taken.

We do not find that Timur appointed any king to govern Hindostan, which he had in a great measure subdued. He, however, confirmed the subas, who had submitted to him, in their governments; and, from this circumstance, we may suppose that he intended to retain the empire in his own name; though he left no troops behind him, except a small detachment in Delhi, to

* A fort in Punjaab, three days journey north of Lahore.

A.D. 1397. Hig. 801. to secure it from further depredations. While he remained at Jimbo, he appointed Chizer viceroy of Moultan, Lahore, and Dibalpoor, then proceeded by the way of Cabul to Samarcand.

The city of Delhi had remained in anarchy for the space of two months after the departure of Timur, when it was taken possession of by the pretended emperor Nuserit, with only two thousand horse, from Merat. Two chiefs, Shab and Almass, with their troops and ten elephants, joined him soon after from the same place; Nuserit sent immediately Shab, with his troops, towards Birren, against Eckbal, who had there taken up his residence. But Shab was attacked, in the night, upon his march, by the zemindars in the interest of Eckbal, and slain; Eckbal pursuing this advantage, took all the baggage of Shab's army.

This success raising the reputation as well as spirits of Eckbal, he, in a few days, thought himself in a condition to make an attempt upon the capital, which he did with success; for Nuserit, upon his approach, fled to Merat; and Eckbal resumed the administration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who had fled to different places, having still a natural hankering after their old abode, began to assemble again, and the place, in a short time, put on the appearance of populousness, especially the quarter called the New City.

Eckbal recovers Delhi.

The Subas revolt from the empire.

Eckbal possessed himself soon of the country between the two rivers, which, with a small district round the city, was all that now held of the capital. The subas had rendered themselves independent, in their own governments, during the misfortunes and confusion of the empire. Guzerat was seized upon by Azim;—Malava by Delawir;—Kinnoge, Oud, Kurrah, and Jionpoor, by Chaja Jehan, commonly called the King

of the East;—Lahore, Dibalpoor, and Moultan, by Chizer;—Sammana by Ghalil;—Brana by Shumse;—Mahoba by Mahommed, the son of Malleck, and grandson of Ferose; and so on with regard to the other provinces, the governors asserting their own independence, and styling themselves Kings. A.D. 1398. Hig. 801.

In the month of the first Jemmad, 803, Eckbal marched with an army from Delhi towards Biana, and defeated Shumse; whose troops joining him, he proceeded to Kittar, and after having levied a great contribution upon the territory of Narsing, returned to Delhi. Intelligence was soon after brought him, that Chaja Jehan was dead at Jionpoor, and that his adopted son, Kirrinphil, having assumed the title of the Emperor Mubarick, held that government. Eckbal having gained over to his interest Shumse, governor of Biana, Mubarick and Bahadre of Mewat, marched the same year against Kirrinphil. A. D. 1400. Hig. 803. Eckbal defeats Shumse.

When he had reached the village of Pattiali, upon the banks of the Ganges, Rai Seri, and all the zemindars of that country, opposed him; but he defeated them with great slaughter. After this victory, he marched to Kinnoge, with an intention to proceed to Jionpoor, and from thence to Bengal. Upon his march, however, he was met by Kirrinphil, who opposed his crossing the Ganges so effectually, that, after repeated efforts for two months, he was forced to abandon the undertaking, and to return to his own country. But the perfidious Eckbal, entertaining some groundless suspicions of Shumse and Mubarick, assassinated them both upon their way back to their own governments. Frustrated in his designs upon Jionpoor.

The emperor Mahmood, in the year 804, being disgusted with Ziffer, governor of Guzerat, fled from him to Malava, and soon after, by the invitation Mahmood returns to Delhi.

A.D. 1401. Hig. 804. invitation of Eckbal, returned to Delhi. He, however, contented himself with a pension, fearing that his interfering in the government would prove fatal to him. Advice being arrived, that Kirrinphil, or, as he styled himself, Mubarick, was dead, at Jionpoor, Eckbal, taking along with him the Emperor Mahmood, marched again towards Kinnoge; upon which, Ibrahim, the brother of Mubarick, who had mounted the throne, advanced with the troops of the East to meet him.

His folly. When the armies were near one another, Mahmood, dissatisfied with his condition, and having the folly to imagine that Ibrahim would acknowledge him king, and abdicate the throne of the Eastern provinces for his sake, escaped one day, when he was out hunting, to the army of Ibrahim. But when that prince learned the intentions of Mahmood, he even with-held from him the necessaries of life, and intimated to him to quit the camp. Mahmood returned in great distress to Kinnoge, and was left, by Eckbal, in the government of that city; the governor, who was formerly there on the part of Ibrahim, being driven out. Ibrahim, however, put up with this insult, and returned to Jionpoor, while Eckbal retired to Delhi.

Made governor of Kinnoge.

Eckbal marches against Gualier. In the year 805, Eckbal marched against Gualier, which had fallen into the hands of Narsing, during the invasion of Timur, and had now, upon Narsing's death, descended to his son, Byram Deo. The fort being very strong, he could effect nothing against it, but plundering the district around, he returned to Delhi. Brooking ill, however, this disappointment, he, in a short time, marched a second time against Gualier. Byram Deo sallied out of the place, and engaged Eckbal, but he was soon driven back into the fort,

fort, the siege of which Eckbal was again obliged to raise; and having plundered the country as before, he returned to Delhi. A.D. 1401. Hig. 804.

Eckbal, in the year 807, drew an army towards Atava, and having, in several battles, defeated the Hindoo chief of Sibbiri, the prince of Gualier, the raja of Jallar, and others, who possessed that country, he raised contributions there. He then turned his arms against the nominal emperor Mahmood, in Kinnoge. The Sultan shut himself up in the city, and Eckbal invested it for some time, but, not being able to reduce the place, he raised the siege, and marched towards Sammana. Atava, and Kinnoge.

Byram, a descendant of one of the Turkish slaves of the emperor Ferose, had fixed himself in Sammana, and, upon the approach of Eckbal, had fled to the hills of Budhoor; Eckbal closely pursuing him, encamped at the skirts of the mountains. Alim came to mediate matters, and a peace was soon patched up between the contending parties, and both joining their forces together, marched towards Moultan, against Chizer. At Tilbundi they were opposed by Rai Daood, Camel Mai, and Rai Hubbu, chiefs in the northern provinces, who were defeated and taken prisoners. The perfidious Eckbal, after this victory, without any apparent reason, except a desire of aggrandizing himself, seized upon Byram, and ordered him to be flay'd alive. The death of Byram did not remain long unrevenged. Eckbal arriving near Adjoudin, Chizer met him, with the troops of Moultan, Punjaab, and Dibalpoor, and, upon the nineteenth of the first Jemmad, the two armies engaged; Eckbal was slain, and the world was happily rid of a perfidious and cruel villain. A.D. 1404. Hig. 807. Byram is flay'd alive. Eckbal Chan slain.

Dowlat Lodi, and Actiar, who commanded in Delhi, being informed of this event, called the emperor Sultan Mahmood restored.

A. D. 1404. Hig. 807. emperor Mahmood from Kinnoge. Mahmood, coming with a small retinue to Delhi, reassumed the throne; but, laying aside any further efforts to reduce Moultan, he sent Dowlat with an army against Byram, who, upon the death of the former Byram, possessed himself of Sammana. The emperor himself returned back, in the mean time, to Kinnoge; Ibrahim marched against him, and, after some skirmishes, obliged him to retreat to Delhi. The Sultan's spiritless behaviour lost him the affections of his troops, and they accordingly, with one consent, dispersed themselves. Ibrahim having received intelligence of this desertion, crossed the Ganges, and marched towards Delhi with great expedition. When he had reached the banks of the Jumna, he heard that Azim of Guzerat, had defeated and taken Alip, Suba of Mindu, and the country of Malava, and was then upon his march towards Jionpoor. Upon which he immediately retreated, to cover the capital of his dominions.

Flies from Kinnoge. Pursued by Sultan Ibrahim.

A. D. 1406. Hig. 809. In the month of Rigib, 810, Dowlat Lodi and Byram came to battle near Sammana. Byram was defeated, and surrendered himself to Dowlat; but before the latter had enjoyed any fruits of his victory, he was himself beat back to Delhi, by Chizer. Mahmood, in the following year, marched against Keiwan, who, upon the part of Chizer, commanded the fort of Firosa. The emperor, after levying contributions, returned; and Chizer, upon the advice of these transactions, marched against Delhi, and besieged Mahmood, who was neither a warrior nor a politician, in that part of the city which is distinguished by the name of the city of Firose. But fortune, for this time, supplied the want of abilities in Mahmood, for Chizer being in want of forage and grain, was obliged to raise the siege, and retire to Fattipoor.

Byram defeated by Lodi.

The emperor besieged in Firoseabad.

Chizer,

Chizer, in the beginning of the year 814, returned by the way of Rhotuc, a country then in the possession of Sultan Mahmood, where Ecteriz and Mubariz, the governors of that country, declining hostilities, submitted to his pleasure. He plundered the town of Narnoul, and again advanced to Delhi; Mahmood shut himself up in the old citadel of Seri, which Chizer immediately besieged. Achtiar, who commanded in Firoseabad, seeing the affairs of Mahmood in a desperate situation, joined himself to Chizer, and admitted him into the place. They then, with all their troops, took possession of the country on the opposite side of the river, and prevented all supplies from Mahmood. A.D. 1413. Hig. 816. Chizer besieges Mahmood in Delhi,

But that famine which they designed for the Emperor and his adherents, recoiled upon themselves; for a great drought had occasioned a scarcity of provisions between the rivers, and in the neighbourhood of Delhi; insomuch that Chizer was, a second time, forced to raise the siege, and retire to Fatipoor. Mahmood being delivered from this imminent danger, took no pains to strengthen himself against a future attack. He took the diversion of hunting in the neighbourhood of Keitul, where he was seized with a fever, and died in the month of Zecada; and with him the empire of Delhi fell from the race of the Turks, who were adopted slaves of the Emperor Mahommed Ghori, the second of that race of the princes of India, distinguished by the name of the dynasty of Ghor. but retires. Mahmood dies.

The disastrous, interrupted, and inglorious reign of the weak Mahmood, lasted twenty years and two months. He was just as unfit for the age in which he lived, as he was unworthy of better times. God was angry with the people of Hindostan, and he gave them Mahmood, whose only virtue was, that his folly made him insensi- His character.

 ble,

A. D. 1413. Hig. 816. ble, in a great measure, to those strokes of fortune, which abilities much greater than his could not, perhaps, avert. The omrahs, soon after his death, elected, in his stead, Dowlat Lodi, a Patan by nation, and originally a private secretary, who, after passing through various employs, was raised by Mahmood to the dignity of Aziz Mumalick*.

Dowlat Lodi elected Emperor. Destitute of every pretension to the throne, by succession, Dowlat Lodi could not long be supported upon it by the few chiefs who owned allegiance to the court of Delhi. He was, however, seated upon the imperial Musnud, in the month of Mohirrim of the 816 year of the Higerah. He began his reign by striking the currency in his own name, which is commonly the first act of kings. Two chiefs of power and reputation, Malleck Ecteriz and Mubariz, who had been in the interest of Chizer, abandoned that omrah and joined Lodi. A few days after his accession, he marched towards Kittar, and was met by Rai Narsingh, and other zemindars of those districts, who acknowledged his title. Arriving at the town of Battiali, Mohabut, governor of Budaoon, came to meet him.

Advices, in the mean time, arrived, that Ibrahim, who styled himself Emperor of the Eastern Provinces, was besieging Kadir the son of Mahmood, in Calpee; but as Lodi had not forces enough to march to his relief, he returned to Delhi to recruit his army. Chizer, who had been preparing to invade the capital, advanced, in the month of Zihidge, with sixty thousand horse, and a third time invested the citadel of Seri, whither Dowlat Lodi had retired. After a siege of four months, he obliged Lodi, upon the 16th of the first Ribbi, in the year 817, to surrender

Is taken and deposed by Chizer.

* An officer something similar to our Secretary of State.

render himself and the citadel. The emperor was confined in the fort of Firosa, where he died soon, after a nominal reign of one year and three months. A.D. 1413. Hig. 816.

Disturbances in Persia, and his ardent desire of extending his conquests to the extremities of Asia, on the north and west, prevented Timur from retaining the conquests he had made in India. The inferiority of the troops of the Patan empire to the Moguls convinced him, that he could, at any time, reduce India; and he was therefore unwilling to leave any part of his veteran army to secure the provinces he had seized. Timur, after his return from Hindostan, settled the affairs of Persia, reduced Syria, Egypt, and the Lesser Asia; and, in the 805 of the Higera, defeated Bajazet, the Turkish Emperor, in a great battle in the plains of Galatia. When he was meditating the conquest of China, he died on his march into that country, in the 808 year of the Higera, and the 1405 of the Christian æra. His son, Sharoch, succeeded Timur in his vast empire, and was on the throne at the death of Dowlat Lodi. State of Asia.

CHIZER.

A.D. 1414. Hig. 817.

Chizer succeeds.

His family.

THE most accurate historians of those times affirm, that Chizer was of the race of the Prophet, and consequently what the Islamites call a Seid. His father, Soliman, being a person of some distinction, became the adopted son of Dowlat, a great omrah, and governor of the province of Moultan in the reign of Ferose. Dowlat was, upon his death, succeeded in his government by his own son Malleck Shech; and he soon dying, Soliman was appointed to that viceroyship, which descended to Chizer from his father. Chizer being defeated, as we have already observed, by Saring, and driven from his country, he waited upon Timur, after the conquest of Delhi, and, having gained his favour, was by him reinstated in his former government, with the addition of all the countries watered by the five rivers, commonly called Punjaab and Dibalpoor. This accession of strength enabled him to pave afterwards his way to the empire.

Does not assume the name of Emperor. Pretends to hold of Timur.

Chizer, upon his accession, conferred honours upon Melleck Joppa, and made him vizier; and raised to dignities Rahim, the adopted son of his father Soliman, with the government of Fattepoor and Moultan. He thus distributed favours, governments, and dignities among his other omrahs, but would not assume the imperial titles to himself, holding forth, that he held the empire for Timur: and ordered the coin to be struck in his name. The Chutba, during the life of Timur,

mur, was read in that conqueror's name in the mosques; and after Timur had travelled the way of mortality, in that of the Emperor Sharoch his son, mentioning the name of Chizer after him. He even sent sometimes a tribute to Samarcand. This was, probably, good policy in Chizer, as he could govern his fellow omrahs, with less envy, in the name of the Tartar Prince, than if he was to assume the name of King himself, to which he had not the least shadow of pretence. A.D. 1414. Hig. 817.

In the first year of his government he sent Joppa, with an army, towards Kittar, which he subdued, and drove Rai Narsingh to the mountains; but upon paying a tribute Rai Narsingh was again put in possession of his country. Mohabut, Suba of Badoon, at the same time came to meet Malleck, and promised allegiance; and from thence the vizier marched towards Koer, Kumbul, and Chidewar, and levied the revenues which were due for some years before. After recovering Jellasar out of the hands of the Rajaputs of Chundwar, he marched to Atava, which he brought under subjection, by changing the administration; and after these exploits returned to Delhi. Subdues Kittar.

In the month of the first Jemmad of this year, a tribe of Turks, who were of the adherents of Byram, assassinating Malleck, governor of Sirhind, took possession of his country. Chizer sent Zirick, with a powerful army, against them; and, upon his approach, the Turks crossed the Suttuluz, and retreated to the hills. Zirick pursued them thither; but those mountains being a continuation of those of Nagracot, which were then possessed by powerful zemindars, who assisted the Turks, he could effect nothing material against them; and, in the end, he was obliged to retreat. The Turks expelled from Sirhind.

Intelligence was, in the year 819, received at Delhi, that Ahmud, who styled himself King of Guzerat, Chizer's expedition against Ahmud.

A.D. 1414. Hig. 817. Guzerat, had advanced to Nagore. Chizer mustering all his forces, marched against him, but Ahmud declining battle, turned off towards Malava. When Chizer had reached Hanir, Elias, governor of that beautiful city, which had been built by the Emperor Alla, came out to meet him, and was honorably received. The Emperor proceeded from thence to Gualier, where he levied the tribute upon the raja, and then continued his march to Biana, taking tribute from Kerim, the lord of that country. He after these transactions returned to Delhi.

Turks again expelled from Sirhind.

In the year 820, Tân, chief of those Turks who had assassinated Malleck, lay at the head of a great army before Sirhind. Zirick, governor of Sammana, was immediately dispatched by Chizer, with a strong force, against the Turk who besieged Sirhind, and he was once more driven back to his hills; and a seasonable relief was accomplished for the empire. Zirick having, in pursuit of the enemy, reached the village of Pael, Tân consented to pay tribute, and gave him his son as a hostage, expelling the murderers of Malleck. Upon this pacification he was left in possession of Jallender, and Zirick returned to Sammana, sending the hostage and contributions which he had raised to the royal presence.

Chizer invades Kittar.

The Emperor, in the year 821, sent his minister against Raja Narsingh. The vizier, without ending the war, plundered and laid waste the province of Kittar, and returned to Budaoon. Crossing then the river, he came to Atava, where he raised contributions, and from thence returned to Delhi. Chizer went, in person, against the rebels of Kittar, and, upon his march, chastised the banditti of Schole. He crossed the Rahib, laid waste the country of Simbol and Kittar, and, without coming to battle, returned to his capital.

He

He continued at Delhi a few days, and then moved towards Budaoon, crossing the Ganges at Pattali. Mahabut being alarmed at his approach, shut himself up in Budaoon, where the King besieged him for six months. In the course of the siege, Cawam, Achtiar Lodi, and all the old friends of the Emperor Mahmood, formed a conspiracy against the life of Chizer. The Sultan discovering the plot, decamped from before Budaoon, and returned towards Delhi. He, on his way, prepared an entertainment upon the 20th of the first Jemmad in 822, to which all the conspirators were invited, and the guards setting suddenly upon them, they were to a man assassinated. A.D. 1419. Hig. 822. Discovers a plot against his life.

After the Sultan returned to Delhi, he was informed that an impostor had appeared at Matchewarrah, under the name of Saring Chan, and had, by that means, collected a great body of people together. The King ordered Maleck Lodi, who, with the title of Islam Chan, was, at that time, governor of Sirhind, against him. The impostor was defeated, driven to the hills, and pursued by the joint forces of Tân, governor of Jallender, of Zirick, governor of Sammana, and of Maleck, governor of the country between the rivers. The impostor's army deserted him, each man skulking as best he could, and privately retiring to his abode. The imperial forces having no further service to do, separated, and returned to their respective stations. But, in the year following, Saring, the impostor, issued again from his hills, and having made an alliance with Tân, governor of Jallender, they invested the fort of Sirhind, and ravaged the country as far as Munsurepoor and Pael. The King sent a great army against them, who, giving them a total defeat, drove them out of the kingdom. An impostor appears at Matchewarrah.

A.D. 1419. Hig. 822. Chizer's expedition to Mewat.

In the year 824, Chizer marched towards Mewat, taking and destroying the fort of Kotillah. The vizier dying at that time, the vizarit was conferred upon his son. The Sultan turned from thence towards Gualier, where he raised contributions, and then hastened to Attava, levying tribute on the son of Rai Sibber, who then possessed that country. Falling sick during his progress, he returned to Delhi, where he died on the 17th of the first Jemmad of this year. He reigned seven years and a few months; and his death was greatly lamented by the people, being esteemed a just, generous, and benevolent prince, for that age.

Dies.

State of Asia.

Sharoch, the son of Timur, sat on the Mogul throne, and ruled the vast empire conquered by his father, with great ability, justice and moderation.

MUBARICK

MUBARICK II.

WHEN the Emperor Chizer had, by the violence of his disorder, lost all hopes of recovery, he, three days before he expired, appointed his eldest son to succeed him in the empire. Accordingly, two days after the Sultan's death, Mubarick* ascended the throne, by the title of the Supporter of Religion and Father of the Victorious. The new Emperor made the usual appointments, raising Maleck Buddir, his cousin, to high honours; and Maleck Rigib, to the government of Dibalpoor and Punjaab. A.D. 1421. Hig. 824. Mubarick ascends the throne.

In the month of the first Jemmad, he received advices, that Jisserit, the brother of Sheca, the Gicker, who had, the preceding year, defeated and taken Ali king of Cashmire, upon his return from an expedition against Tatta, presuming upon his own power and valour, had taken a resolution to attempt the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpose, invited into his service the famous Tân, who had fled to the mountains, and appointed him captain general of his forces. He soon over-run the countries of Punjaab and Lahore, seized upon Zirick, governor of Jallender, by perfidious means, after which he took the place; and immediately thereafter besieged Islam, the imperial governor of Sirhind. Jisserit invades the empire.

The Emperor Mubarick, though the solstitial rains were then in their height, marched from Delhi; The emperor marches against him.

* His titles were Moax ul dien, Abul Fatte, Sultan Mubarick Shaw.

A.D. 1421. Hig. 825.

Delhi, and upon his approach to Sirhind, Jisserit raised the siege, and retreated to Ludhana. Zirick, at that place, found means to escape from him, and join Mubarick. The emperor advanced towards Ludhana and Jisserit, crossing the Suttuluz, encamped on the opposite bank; having first possessed himself of all the boats upon the river, which circumstance obliged Mubarick to halt, till the water should fall at Kabulpoor, Jisserit, in the mean time, being determined to oppose his passage. Upon the 11th of Shuwal, Secunder the vizier, Zirick, Mahmood Hassen, Maleck Callu, and other omrahs, according to the Emperor's order, made a forced march, and forded the river, the King himself following them close to support them with the body of the army. Jisserit, by this means, was thrown into confusion, and turned his face to flight. The Sultan kept close to his heels, slew, in the pursuit, a great many of the enemy, and took all their baggage.

Mubarick rebuilds Lahore, and returns to Delhi.

Jisserit, after this defeat, took refuge in the mountains, in a very distressed condition. But Rai Bimé of Jimmu, having directed the King's army to Bile, a strong fort into which Jisserit had thrown himself, he fled to another place, but was pursued with great slaughter, and Mubarick, in the Mohirrim of 825, directed his march to Lahore, ordered the ruined palaces and fortifications to be repaired, and, appointing Hassen governor, returned to Delhi.

Jisserit besieges Lahore without success.

Jisserit, collecting his scattered forces, took the field again, and invested Lahore, for five months, without success. He then raised the siege, retired to Callanore, and fell upon Rai Bimé, for having given assistance to the King; but the action, which ensued between them, being undecisive, Jisserit went to the banks of the Bea, and began to recruit his army. In the mean time, Malleck

Secunder

Secunder the vizier, who had been sent to succour Lahore, joined by Malleck Rigib, governor of Debalpoor, and by Islam, governor of Sirhind, advanced towards Jisserit, and obliged him to cross the Ravi and Chinaab, and to take shelter among the hills. The vizier marched along the Ravi to Callanore; and, upon the frontiers of Jimmu, Ria Bimé joined him, and leading the imperial troops through the hills, where the Gickers were concealed, some thousands of that unhappy people were put to the sword, and the vizier returned to Lahore.

A.D. 1422. Hig. 825.

Is obliged to take shelter in the mountains.

These successes prevailed upon the King to appoint the vizier viceroy of Lahore, and to recal Hassen. But, in the year eight hundred and twenty-six, the Sultan deprived him of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Surur ul Muluck, whom he dispatched against the Hindoos of Kittar. The emperor himself followed that general with a greater army. The inhabitants of Kittar were subdued, and a great tribute exacted from them. Mubarick having settled affairs with Mahabut, governor of Budaoon, commanded him to march against the tribe of Toor, whom that general plundered, and took prisoners to a man. The Raja of Attava having, at this time, withdrawn himself from the royal camp, Mubarick pursued him to that place, and besieged him there. But terms of peace were settled between them, and the Raja's son given as a hostage for his father's future good behaviour. The King, after these transactions, returned to Delhi.

Mubarick invades Kittar.

Hassen was, about this time, appointed paymaster and commander in chief of the troops. Jisserit, unconquered by his misfortunes, raised again his head, and, having defeated and slain Rai Bimé, by a fresh acquisition of reputation and wealth, raised an army of Gickers, with which he again attempted the conquest of Delhi. Having rava-

A.D. 1423. Hig. 827. ged the countries of Lahore and Debalpoor, he collected together very considerable plunder; but when Secunder, the late vizier, advanced against him, he did not choose to risque a battle, and therefore retired with his spoils to the hills, where he busied himself in recruiting his army for another attempt.

In the mean time Jisserit made an alliance with Amir Ali, a Mogul omrah, a subject of the emperor Sharoch, the son of the great Timur, who resided at Cabul. He persuaded Amir Ali to make an incursion into the territories of Seistan, Bicker, and Tatta, to draw off the King's attention from Delhi, and so to facilitate his own schemes. Alla, governor of Moultan, dying about this time, and the news of Amir Ali's incursion being noised abroad, the King, without delay, sent Hassen, with the army, towards Moultan. The raja of Malava had, in the same year, invested Gualier, which obliged the emperor Mubarick to raise all the forces of those provinces, and to march against him; levying, in his way, contributions upon Amir, prince of Biana.

Defeated by Mubarick. The raja of Atava, upon the approach of Mubarick, crossed the Chumbul, and sat down on the opposite bank. Mubarick having, in the mean time, found another ford, crossed the river with great expedition, attacked him in his camp, took many prisoners, and a part of the enemy's baggage. The prisoners being found to be Mahommedans, were dismissed by the king. The raja thought it then adviseable to compound all differences, by paying down a sum of money to the Sultan; upon which he was permitted to withdraw towards Dhar. Mubarick having tarried for some time in that place to levy contributions upon the neighbouring zemindars, returned in the month of Rigib, eight hundred and twenty seven, to Delhi.

Sues for peace.

The

The Sultan next year made a motion towards Kittar, where the Indian prince, Narsingh, came to the banks of the Ganges to pay his respects to him; but as he did not pay the revenues of his territory for three years back, he was confined for a few days till his accounts were settled, and then he was released. The Sultan crossed the river, chastised some riotous zemindars, and returned to Delhi. He did not remain there many days before he drew his army towards Mewat, from whence he drove the rebels to the hills, and, ravaging their country, returned to Delhi; and permitting his omrahs to retire to their jagiers, he gave himself up to pleasure and festivity. A. D. 1423. Hig. 827. Mubarick reduces Mewat, and dismisses his army.

But the inhabitants of Mewat, rendered more desperate and distressed by the king's bad policy, in ruining their country, were obliged to prey upon their neighbours, and to infest all the adjacent countries. This circumstance obliged the king, in the year eight hundred and twenty-nine, to collect again an army to subdue them. Upon his approach, Jillu and Kiddu, the grandsons of Badhader Nahir, retreated to the hills of Alwar, where they defended the passes with great bravery. Being, at length, reduced to great distress, they surrendered themselves, were imprisoned, their country was again ravaged, and the Sultan returned to Delhi. Disturbances in Mewat.

But the distresses of the people of Mewat did not render them peaceable subjects. The king, after a recess of four months only, was again obliged to turn his arms against them, and to carry fire and sword through their whole country. He proceeded as far as Biana, where, after the death of Amir, his brother Mahommed shut himself up in the city, which he held out against Mubarick sixteen days; but upon the desertion of the greatest part of the garrison, he surrendered at discretion, and was, with a rope about his neck, brought Mewat again reduced.

into

A. D. 1423. Hig. 827.

into the presence. The Sultan delivered the city to the care of Mackbul, and sent Mahommed and his family to Delhi. To Malleck Topha he gave in charge the town of Sikri, known now by the name of Fattipoor, marched to Gualier, raised contributions there, and returned to Delhi. He removed, at that time, Hassen from the government of Moultan to that of Firosa, bestowing the former upon Malleck Rigib.

Mahommed escapes and raises disturbances.

During these transactions Mahommed found means to escape with his family to Mewat, and collecting a considerable force, took the city of Biana, in the absence of Mackbul, on an expedition to Mahaban. The Sultan dispatched Mubariz, whom he appointed to that government, to drive Mahommed from thence. Mahommed retired into the fort, when Mubariz took possession of the country. After a few days siege he left the defence of the place to some trusty friends, and issuing out himself, escaped to Ibrahim, king of the East, who was advancing with an army against Calpee.

Flies to Sultan Ibrahim.

Kadir Shaw, governor of Calpee, upon this occasion sent expresses to Delhi, for succours. Mubarick hastened to his relief, and having reached Aterawli, detached Hassen, with 10,000 horse, against Muchtiss Chan, the brother of Ibrahim, who was in motion with a considerable force to reduce Attava. This detachment, however, encountering Muchtiss, drove him back to his brother, and Hassen returned to the army. Ibrahim advanced along the banks of the Black River to Burhanabad, from thence to the village of Raberi, and so on to the banks of Kinhire, where he encamped. Mubarick, in the mean time, crossing the Jumna, near Chundwar, encamped within ten miles of the enemy. Both armies remained in their trenches for the space of twenty-two days, during which time slight skirmishes daily happened between them. Ibrahim, however, upon the seventh

seventh of the second Jemmad, marched out of his camp, and offered battle to the king. Mubarick, though he declined to rescue his own person, ordered out his army to oppose Ibrahim, under the command of his vizier, Said ul Sadit, and Seid Sallam. A. D. 1427. Hig. 831. Ibrahim advances against Mubarick.

The action commenced, with great fury, about noon, and night parted the combatants; both armies retreating to their respective camps. Ibrahim, however, marching off in the morning towards Jionpoor, while Mubarick, contenting himself with the advantage he had gained, returned towards Gualier, crossing the river at Hitgaut. Having received there the usual presents, he turned off towards Biana, into which Mahommed had again thrown himself, after the battle. He made a gallant defence, but was again obliged to capitulate, and had leave to go whithersoever he pleased. Hassen was left in the government of that province; and on the fifteenth of Shaban, eight hundred and thirty one, Mubarick returned victorious and triumphant to Delhi. He there seized Malleck Mewati, who had joined himself to Ibrahim, and ordered him to be put to death. The armies engage. A drawn battle.

In the month of Zicada the Sultan received advices that Jisserit had sat down before Callanore, after having defeated Secunder, the late vizier, who had marched against him, and driven him back to Lahore. Mubarick sent an order to Zirick, governor of Samana and Islam, who commanded at Sirhind, to join Secunder; but, before their arrival, he had marched towards Callanore, and defeated Jisserit in his turn; depriving him of all the plunder he had acquired in that province. Jisserit besieges Callanore, is defeated.

Mubarick marched to Mewat in the month of Mohirrim, eight hundred and thirty-two, and entirely subdued that country, obliging the inhabitants to pay a regular tribute. In the mean time advices arrived at Delhi, that Malleck Rigib was dead, upon which the king conferred the title of Ameid Mubarick subdues Mewat.

A. D. 1429. Hig. 833. Ameid ul Muluck upon Hassen, who had settled the affairs of Biana, and sent him governor to Moultan. The Sultan, in the following year, proceeded to Gualier, which country he ravaged, and carried off some thousands of the poor inhabitants into slavery. Turning then his forces towards Raberi, he wrested that country from the son of Hassen, gave it to Malleck Humza, and afterwards returned to Delhi. Seid Allum dying by the way, his eldest son had the title of Seid Chan conferred upon him, and the youngest that of Suja ul Muluck, together with all the wealth of their father, which was very great; though, according to the custom of Hindostan, it would become the property of the king.

Ingratitude of the sons of Seid Allum.

These favours, however, did not secure the faith of the sons of Seid Allum, for they sent Fowlad, a Turkish slave, to Tibberhind, to stir up privately, in their name, an insurrection there. They had formed hopes, it is said, that they might be sent with a force to suppress the rebellion, and so have an opportunity to join the rebels. But the plot was discovered, and both imprisoned; while, in the mean time, Eusuph and Ibbu were sent to Tibberhind to confiscate their estates, and suppress the disturbance raised by Fowlad.

Rebellion of Fowlad.

Fowlad entering into a negotiation, lulled into a negligent security the imperial generals, and sallying one night from his fort, surprized their camp. He was, however, so warmly received by the king's troops, that he was soon driven back. This did not deter him from making another effort next night, at the same time making a great discharge of artillery from the works, which struck a panic into the imperial troops, who took immediately to their heels, leaving their camp standing, with all their baggage. Mubarick, upon receiving advice of that disaster, was constrained to march towards Tibberhind in person. The rebel daily gathered strength, and the king was obliged to call Ameid ul

Mubarick marches against him.

ul Muluck from Moultan, and several other governors, to join him. Every thing for the expedition being prepared, Mubarick stopped at Sursutti, and dispatched the greatest part of his army to invest the fort of Tibberhind. Fowlad sent a message to the imperial camp, importing that he had great confidence in Ameid ul Muluck, and said, that if he should be sent with promise of pardon, he himself would deliver up the place. The emperor accordingly sent Ameid to Tibberhind, where Fowlad met him a little without the gate. Having accordingly received assurances of pardon, he promised to give up the place the next day. But one of Ameid's attendants, who was of Fowlad's acquaintance, told him privately, that though Ameid was a man of strict honour, and would certainly adhere to his promise, yet the king might not be so tender of preserving his, and that it was very probable he might bring Fowlad to punishment. Fowlad, after the conference was over, revolved this intimation in his own mind, and repented seriously of his promise; and therefore, as he had both money and provisions, he determined to hold out to the last. A.D. 1429. Hig. 833.

The king seeing that the taking of the place would be a work of time, and that there would be no occasion for so great an army to besiege it, he permitted Ameid ul Muluck to return with the forces of Moultan, and leaving Islam Lodi, Kummal, and Firose, to carry on the siege, he himself retired to Delhi. Fowlad having held out six months, was greatly distressed, and saw no means of extricating himself, but by an alliance with Ali, governor of Cabul, on the part of Sharoch, the Mogul emperor. He sent, for this purpose, messengers to him, with large promises for his assistance. As Mubarick had taken no pains to keep upon good terms with the Mogul, Besieges him.

 Mogul,

A. D. 1429. Hig. 833. Mogul, the latter left Cabul, and, being in his way joined by the Gickers, crossed the Bea, and ravaged the country of those omrahs who carried on the siege, and advancing towards Tibberhind, the imperial army decamped and fled. Fowlad, for this signal service, gave to Ali two lacks of rupees, and other presents, and having given to him all the charge of his family, exerted himself in repairing the fortifications, and laying in provisions and ammunition.

Moguls ravage the country; Ali, crossing the Suttuluz, committed cruel depredations upon the unhappy country, acquiring of plunder twenty times the value of the subsidy which he had received from Fowlad. Advancing then to Lahore, he raised the usual tribute from Secunder, then returned towards Dibalpoor, desolating the country wherever he went; insomuch that forty thousand Hindoos were computed to have been massacred, besides a great number carried away prisoners. Ameid ul Muluck posted himself to oppose Ali, at the town of Tilbanna; but he gave him the slip, and went to Chitpoor, when Ameid received the king's orders to retreat to save Moultan. The flight of the imperial army encouraged the enemy to follow them beyond the Ravi, and to lay waste the country, to within ten crores of Moultan. Ali defeated there Islam Lodi, who had been left to stop his progress.

From thence the Moguls advanced to Cheirabad, within six miles of the city; and the next day, which was the fourth of Ramzan, they made an assault upon the place, but were beaten back. They continued, however, from their camp to make daily excursions towards the city, putting all whom they could meet to the sword.

The king being informed of these transactions, sent Fatte Chan and Mubarick, with other omrahs of distinction, to succour Ameid; who, upon being

being joined by all these with their forces, went out and offered battle to Ali. Ali did not decline it, and a furious conflict ensued, in the beginning of which the Moguls gained some advantage. However, upon the death of Fatte Chan, the gale of fortune changed, and blew with the standards of Hindostan. Ali, at one stroke, played away all his gains, escaping, with a few attendants only, to Cabul, his whole army being either killed, or drowned in the Gelum, in their precipitate flight. A.D. 1430. Hig. 834. are overthrown.

Ameid having pursued the runaways to Shinnore, returned victorious to Moultan; and the omrahs, who had succoured him, repaired, by the king's orders, to Delhi; and soon after, Mubarick, jealous of the success of Ameid, called him also to court. Jisserit took advantage of his absence, crossed the Gelum, Ravi, and Bea, and fought Secunder, the late vizier, near Jillender, defeated and took him prisoner, with all his treasure and baggage. He forthwith advanced and besieged Lahore. Ali, at the same time, at the instigation of Jisserit, made another incursion towards Moultan, and, having taken Tilbunna by capitulation, he broke his word, plundered the place, massacred all the men able to bear arms, and carried their wives and children into captivity, laying the town in ruins. Jisserit invades the empire. Besieges Lahore.

Fowlad, taking also advantage of these disturbances, marched out of Tibberhind, and invading the country of Rai Firose, defeated him. Mubarick thought it now high time to march from Delhi. He, accordingly, upon the first of the first Jemmad, eight hundred and thirty-five, took the route of Lahore, appointing his vizier governor of that place, and to command in the van of his army. The vizier arriving at Sammana, Jisserit raised the siege of Lahore, and retreated to the hills. Ali hastened back to Cabul, Mubarick raises the siege.

A. D. 1432. Hig. 836. and Fowlad again shut himself up in Tibberhind. The Sultan, upon this, took the government of Lahore from the vizier, and gave it to Nuserit; then returning, encamped near Panniput, on the banks of the Jumna, sending Ameid ul Muluck with a part of the army to suppress some insurrections about Gualier, and the vizier to besiege Tibberhind; he himself returning to Delhi.

Mubarick marches against Jisserit. In the month of Zihidge, Jisserit advanced again to Lahore, and commenced hostilities against Nuserit, which obliged the king, in the year eight hundred and thirty-six, to march from Delhi as far as Sammana. Intelligence was brought to him in that place of the death of his mother, Muchduma Jehan, and he immediately returned with a few attendants; and, after performing the funeral obsequies, went back to his army. After his arrival in the camp, he suddenly changed his resolution, and turned back towards Mewat, conferring the government of Lahore upon Malleck Lodi, who promised to expel Jisserit. But Jisserit, upon hearing of the king's return, was joined by a great body of Gickers, who imagined that his affairs bore a better aspect, so that he was in a condition to receive Lodi, whom he defeated.

The king having received the news of this overthrow, and also that Ali, governor of Cabul, was coming towards Tibberhind, took again the route of Punjaab, sending before him Ameid ul Muluck to reinforce the omrahs who were besieging Tibberhind. Upon his approach, Ali, Ali takes Lahore. who stood in awe of him, laid aside his intentions of coming to Tibberhind, and turned away, by forced marches, towards Lahore, which he surprized, and began a horrid scene of massacre and depredation. But hearing that the king had reached Tilbundi, Ali left a garrison of two thousand men in the place, and retreated towards Ca-

bul, ravaging the country in his way, and leaving his nephew, Muziffer, in the fort of Shinnore. A.D. 1432. Hig. 836.

The king a second time raised Secunder, who had ransomed himself, to the government of Lahore, Dibalpoor, and Jillender, upon which he advanced and laid siege to the city; he took it by capitulation, and permitted the garrison to retire to Cabul. He immediately crossed the Ravi, near Tilbundi, and invested Shinnore. Muziffer held up in that place the standard of opposition for a whole month, but being hard pressed, he capitulated, by giving his daughter to the king, and paying a great ransom for his liberty. Mubarick left a great part of his army at Dibalpoor, and, with a select body, marched himself to Moultan to visit the tombs of the saints, from whence he returned in a few days to his camp. He, at this time, divested Secunder of his government of Lahore, gave it to Ameid ul Muluck, and returned with great expedition to Delhi. Being jealous of the power of the vizier, he joined Kummal with him in the vizarit; and, the latter being esteemed a man of superior abilities, he soon gained the favour of his sovereign and the people.

Retaken.

Shinnore capitulates.

The vizier, upon this, became dissatisfied, and began to project treason. Having gained over Sidarin and Sidpal, two great Hindoo chiefs of the tribe of Kittrie, Miran Sidder, deputy to the chief secretary, Sammud, lord of the private chambers, and others, they watched an opportunity to assassinate the king. About this time, Mubarick had ordered a city to be founded upon the banks of the Jumna, calling it the city of Mubarick, and made an excursion towards Tibberhind, as it were to take the diversion of hunting. Having, on the way, received advices that Tibberhind was taken, and being presented with the head of Fowlad, he returned to the new city.

A conspiracy formed against the Sultan.

I 3 He

A. D. 1433. Hig. 837. He there received intelligence that war was carrying on between Ibrahim, king of the Eastern provinces, and Hoshung of Malavi, near Calpie, which was a very agreeable piece of news to him, as he sought an opportunity to expel Ibrahim from his dominions. He therefore gave orders to muster his army, and pitching his tent without the city, delayed a few days in regulating and collecting his forces, during which time he continued to visit the new works without fear of danger, having never given offence to his nobility, except in changing or turning them out of their governments when they misbehaved.

He is assassinated. Upon the ninth of the month of Rigib, in the year eight hundred and thirty-seven, according to his custom, he went to worship at a new mosque which he had built in the new city, with only a few attendants. The conspirators rushed in, in armour, with drawn swords upon him, and basely assassinated him. The vizier having previously settled matters with Mahommed, one of the grandsons of the emperor Chizer, raised that prince to the throne.

His character. Mubarick reigned thirteen years, three months, and sixteen days. He was esteemed a man of parts, just and benevolent, and, though no great warrior, had he lived in a virtuous age, there is no doubt but he possessed talents which might render him worthy of a throne.

State of Asia. Little alteration happened in the north of Asia, during the reign of Mubarick. Sharoch sat on the throne of the Moguls, and seemed more inclined to rule his dominions with justice and equity, than to extend their limits towards India.

MAHOM-

MAHOMMED V.

ACCORDING to the custom of the world, which cannot subsist without rule, the same day that Mubarick was sent to eternity, Mahommed* was established upon the throne. The ungrateful assassin, the vizier, received the title of lord of the world, and seized upon the king's treasure, regalia, and other effects, discharging all the old omrahs from office, and appointing new ones, who might, in time, serve his ambitious views.

A.D. 1433. Hig. 837.

Mahommed mounts the throne.

Kummal, the deputy vizier, and other omrahs, who were in the camp, having consulted among themselves, upon hearing of the king's death, resolved, rather than kindle a civil war in the country, to bear with the times, to pay allegiance to the new king, and to wait a more proper and more certain opportunity of taking revenge upon the conspirators. They came into the city and paid their compliments to Mahommed. The first preferments which the vizier gave away to facilitate his future schemes, was to appoint the two Hindoo conspirators to the governments of Biana, Amrohi, Narnoul, and Coram; and Miran Sidder, dignified with a title, was presented with a very considerable jagier. The son of Seid Salem was dignified with the title of Chan Azim,

The omrahs disguise their discontent.

The vizier's tyranny.

* His titles at length are, Sultan Mahommed Shaw, the son of Ferid, the son of the emperor Chizer.

A.D. 1433. Hig. 837. and the governments of several countries were conferred upon him. But the omrahs, and dependants of Mubarick, were, by tricks and false accusations, killed, imprisoned, banished, robbed, or turned out of office.

A slave of the vizier, whose name was Rana, was sent collector of the revenues to Biana, but Eusoph Lodi fought and slew him near that place. At the same time, some of the omrahs of the emperors Mubarick and Chizer, who saw that there was a design on foot to deprive them of their jagiers, particularly Chimun, governor of Budaoon, Malleck Lodi, who commanded at Simbol, Ali of Guzerat, and Amir the Turk, erected the spear of rebellion; upon which the vizier, deceived by the behaviour of his deputy Kummal, gave him the command of the army, and sent Sidarin, and his own son Eusoph, along with him, to suppress the rebels. But when they came to the village of Birren, Kummal intended to take revenge on Sidarin and Eusoph, for the murder of the king. He therefore acquainted Malleck Lodi of his resolutions, who, for that reason, made no motion towards them. This design being, however, discovered to the vizier, he sent Hoshiar, his own slave, with a great army, under pretence of succours, with private instructions to prevent the effects of the plot. Kummal had, at Ahare, joined his forces with Malleck Lodi, before the reinforcement, under the vizier's slave, arrived. Hoshiar, hearing of this junction, thought that there was no safety for him, and he therefore fled, with Eusoph and Sidarin, to Delhi. Kummal immediately sent to call the disaffected omrahs, who joined him without delay, so that, upon the last of Ramzan, he moved, with a great army, towards Delhi.

The omrahs rise in arms.

The

The vizier shut himself up in the citadel of Seri, which he held out three months; but as the party of Kummal daily gained strength and reputation, he was driven to great distress. The king, perceiving that his own affairs would be ruined, if he should adhere to the vizier, endeavoured to conciliate matters with the besiegers, and, at the same time, sought an opportunity of making his escape, or cutting off the vizier. The vizier discovering this plot, designed to be before-hand with the king; accordingly, upon the eighth of Mohirrim, with the sons of Miran Sidder, and with some of his own adherents, he broke into the king's apartment. But the emperor, having suspected him of such intentions, had privately a guard at hand, who, on a signal given, rushed upon the conspirators. They immediately betook themselves to flight; but the vizier was cut to pieces, as he was rushing out at the door, and thus met the fate he designed for his lord. The sons of Miran Sidder, and the rest of the assassins, were taken and put to death, while Hoshiar and one Mubarick, who were parties concerned, were publickly executed. The Kittries, and other adherents of the vizier, afraid for themselves, rose up in arms. The king was obliged to shut himself up, ordering the Bagdat-gate to be thrown open to the besiegers, who, rushing in accordingly, began a dreadful massacre among the rebels, till they entirely subdued them. Such as remained alive were bound and put to death at the tomb of the emperor Mubarick.

A.D. 1433. Hig. 837. The vizier besieged in the citadel. His counter plot. Is slain.

Kummal, and the other omrahs, swore allegiance the next day, for the second time, to Mahommed; the vizarit was conferred on Kummal, and Chimun was dignified with the title of Ghazi Malleck, with a jagier. The other omrahs were confirmed

The omrahs swear allegiance to Mahommed.

A.D. 1434. Hig. 838. confirmed in their former offices, governments, and estates. When matters were completely settled at Delhi, the king, by the advice of his counsellors, made a campaign towards Moultan, and encamping near the city of Mubarick, gave orders to draw together his army from all the provinces. Many of the chiefs, being intimidated, delayed to repair to the imperial standard till Ameid ul Muluck arrived from Moultan, adding power to enforce the royal commands, by a numerous army, which he brought with him. All the other provincial omrahs hastened to the camp, and were honoured with dresses, and other marks of favour and distinction. The king moved towards Moultan, to make a parade with his army, and, having visited the tombs of the saints, returned to his capital.

The Sultan marches towards Moultan,

and to Sammana.

In the year eight hundred and forty, he marched towards Sammana, and detached a part of his army against Jisserit, the Gicker, who was raising disturbances. The country of Jisserit was plundered, and the king returned to Delhi, where he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, neglecting all the cares and necessary affairs of government. The accounts of the king's luxurious indolence soon affected the state. Dissatisfaction began to appear first in Moultan, where a tribe of Patans, called Linga, rose in rebellion. At the same time, Beloli Lodi, who, after the death of his uncle, Islam, became governor of Sirhind, without any orders, possessed himself of the city and districts of Lahore and Debalpoor, with all the country back to Panniput.

Beloli defeats the imperial army.

The Sultan receiving intelligence of this revolt, sent his whole army against him, who drove him back to the hills. In the retreat many chiefs of distinction were put to the sword; but Beloli recruited his army, and, when the imperial forces were

were withdrawn, he again possessed himself of all the countries from which they had driven him. Mahommed, this time, sent Hissam Chan, the vizier's deputy, against him, who was defeated, and beat back to Delhi; upon which Beloli* wrote to the king, that if he would put Hissam to death, who, by his intrigues, had been the occasion of this rebellion, he would lay down his arms. A.D. 1438. Hig. 842.

The king was weak enough to listen to this arrogant proposal, and accordingly gave orders for the death of Hissam. He also deprived Kummal of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Hamid, appointing another person deputy, with the title of Hissam Chan. The governors of the provinces observing this pusillanimous and impolitic behaviour of the king, predicted his destruction, and endeavoured to secure their own independency; while the subjects and zemindars, foreseeing the convulsions that must happen in the state, withheld their rents, in hopes that they might be passed over in the general confusion. The Sultan's concessions to the rebels, alienate the minds of his subjects. Confusions in the empire.

Ibrahim, sovereign of the eastern provinces, possessed himself of several districts adjoining to his dominions; and Mahmood Chilligi*, king of Malava, made an attempt on the capital; and, in the year eight hundred and forty-four, advanced within two crores of the city. Mahommed, struck with terror in this urgent situation of affairs, imprudently sent an embassy to Beloli, to beg his assistance. Beloli accordingly, with twenty thousand Persian horse, came to Delhi; Mahommed, though his army was greatly superior to the enemy, was afraid to take the field by himself, but committed the charge of the whole to A.D. 1440. Hig. 844. The impolitic and cowardly behaviour of the king.

* He was descended of the emperor Ferose I. of the tribe of Chilligi, emperors of Delhi.

A.D. 1446. Hig. 850.

to his omrahs, and reposed himself in the Haram. The omrahs, according to order, advanced with the army against the enemy, Beloli leading the van.

When Mahmood Chilligi was given to understand that the king of Delhi was not present, he thought it was meant as an affront to him; and, to be on a footing with Mahommed, he committed the charge of his army to his sons Yeaz ul Dien and Kudder Chan. The two armies having engaged, the troops of Delhi gave way, and left Beloli alone to dispute the field, which he maintained with invincible resolution, till the fugitives, ashamed of their behaviour, returned to the action. Night, however, coming on, the victory was left undecided. Mahmood Chilligi being greatly frightened by a dream that night, and having heard, in the morning, that sultan Ahmed, of Guzerat, was advanced as far as Mundo, he was more and more intimidated, and began to be desirous of making peace: but shame prevented him from expressing his wishes. At the same time, Mahommed, with less reason, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, gave himself up to base fear, and sent ambassadors with presents to his rival to beg peace.

A drawn battle.

A peace concluded.

Mahmood Chilligi was overjoyed at these proposals, which saved the appearance of his reputation, and immediately accepting them, marched from the field. Beloli, who now began justly to despise them both, and to aspire to the empire, marched out of the city with his own troops, and pursuing Mahmood Chilligi, attacked him upon his march, defeated him, and took all his baggage. The weak Sultan, who did not hitherto see through his palpable intentions, gave him the title of first of the nobles*, and adopted him for his son.

Mahmood Chilligi defeated by Beloli,

who is adopted by the Sultan.

In

* Chan Chanân.

In the year eight hundred and forty-five, the emperor marched to Sammana, giving the governments of Lahore and Debalpoor to Beloli, and ordering him to expel Jisserit. He himself returned to his capital. Beloli, by this means, became extremely powerful, and recruited a great army of Afghans; but, instead of fighting Jisserit, he brought him over to his party, and began to seize upon several districts, without any orders from the King. At length, without any apparent reason, but his ambition, he drew his army against Delhi, which he besieged for some months, but, in the end, was obliged to abandon his enterprize. A.D. 1446. Hig. 850. He marches against Delhi.

The king's power was greatly weakened, and began to decay very rapidly. The zemindars of Biana put themselves under the government of Mahmood Chilligi. In the mean time, Mahommed fell sick and died in the year eight hundred and forty-nine, leaving behind him the character of a weak, dissolute, and unwarlike prince; owing to the ambition of others a throne, upon which he could not sit with dignity himself. He reigned twelve years and some months, and his son Alla succeeded him in the empire. The king's power declines. He dies. His character.

Sharoch, emperor of the Moguls, dying this year, the conquests of Timur were divided among his grand-children, the sons of the prince Basinkar. The eldest son of Sharoch, the famous Ulug Bec, enjoyed the imperial titles, but his power was confined to the Western Tartary, or Transoxiana. The eldest son of Basinkar possessed himself of the extensive province of Chorassan, and the countries towards the Indus; Abul Kasem, the third son, reigned over Mazinderan and Georgia; and Mahommed, the second son of Basinkar, became sovereign of all the Western Persia. The empire of Delhi, though it was State of Asia.

A.D. 1446. Hig. 850. was in some measure restored by Chizer and Mubarick, was far from being as extensive as it was before the invasion of Timur. Mahommedan princes possessed the south east provinces, and a kind of empire was long established in the Decan, independent of the crown of Delhi.

ALLA

ALLA II.

ALLA*, the son of Mahommed, mounted the throne upon the demise of his father. All the omrahs, excepting Beloli Lodi, came and swore allegiance to him. This contempt of Beloli, the new Sultan was in no condition to chastise. But having collected an army, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty, he marched to recover Biana. When he was upon the way, there was a rumour propagated, that the King of the East was advancing towards Delhi, which, though false, brought back the Emperor to his capital; though he was told by Hissam, the vizier, how ridiculous it would appear in a king to be guided by a vague report. This reprimand brought upon the vizier Alla's displeasure. A.D. 1447. Hig. 851. Alla mounts the throne.

This step, however, proved ruinous to the Sultan's reputation, and the meanest of the people feared not to say publickly, that he was a weaker man, and a greater fool, than his father. He marched in the following year to Budaoon, where he remained some time, laying out gardens, building pleasure-houses, and making entertainments, and then returned to Delhi. Pretending that the air of Budaoon agreed better with his health, he expressed an inclination of making that city his residence, to divert him from which, the vizier, took much pains, but only incurred more and more of his displeasure. Loses his reputation. His luxury.

All

* His titles were, Sultan Alla ul Dien Ben Mahommed Shaw.

A.D. 1447. Hig. 851.

The state of Hindostan.

All Hindostan was, at this time, divided into separate states; for in the Decan, Guzerat, Malava, Jionpoor, and Bengal, there were princes who assumed the style and dignity of kings; while Punjaab, Debalpoor, and Sirhind, even to Pannipput, was possessed by Beloli. Merowli, and all the country to the Serai of Lado, within fourteen miles of Delhi, were in the hands of Ahmed of Mewat; Sinbol, close to the walls of this city, was possessed by Deria Lodi; Kole, by Isah; Rabari, by Cuttub, the Afghan; Cumpela and Pattiali, by the Indian prince Partab; Biana was subject to Daood Lodi; so that the city of Delhi, and a few small districts, remained only to the king.

Decayed condition of the empire.

Beloli makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Delhi.

Beloli made, about this time, another attempt upon the city, but was not more successful than he was before. The king, relieved from this danger, began to consult the means to recover part of his lost empire, advising with Cuttub, Isah, and Partab. These chiefs, desirous to weaken him still more, told him, that the omrahs were all disgusted with his vizier; that, should he be turned out of office, and imprisoned, they were ready to pay him due allegiance, and made no doubt but the affairs of the empire would put on a more favourable aspect. The weak Alla became the dupe of those traitors, and accordingly imprisoned and disgraced his vizier. He immediately ordered preparations to be made for removing his court to Budaoon, from which not all the remonstrances of his best friends could restrain him; though they represented, in a strong light, how impolitic it would be, at such a juncture, to change his capital.

Fixes his residence at Budaoon.

Alla accordingly, in the year eight hundred and fifty-two, set out for Budaoon, leaving Hissam in the government of Delhi. When the Sultan arrived at his new capital, Cuttub and Partab

Partab waited upon him, and told him, that as long as the vizier was alive, the omrahs could not be brought to trust themselves at court. The weak king was prevailed upon to command him to be put to death; but the vizier's brother having notice given him of this bloody purpose, found means, with the assistance of some of his friends, to release him, and to escape to Delhi. He there took immediate possession of all the king's effects, and turned his haram out of the city.

A. D. 1448. Hig. 852.

Orders the vizier to be put to death,

who escapes to Delhi,

Alla put off the time by ridiculous procrastinations, and vain excuses of the weather, and unlucky times, till the vizier had called Beloli to take upon him the empire. Beloli, glad of the opportunity, amused the Sultan, by writing to him, that he was coming to chastise the vizier, till he arrived and took possession of the city, taking upon himself the title of Sultan Beloli. He, however, gave place to the name of Alla, in the Chutba, in the year eight hundred and fifty-four.

and places Beloli upon the throne.

He gave the city in charge to his son, Chaja Baezid, marched in person to Debalpoor, and collected together a great army of Afghans. He wrote, at the same time, to Alla, that, upon his account, he had expelled the vizier; and he received for answer, from that weak prince, that as his father had adopted Beloli as his son, he would esteem him his brother; he moreover promised to cede to him the empire, upon condition that he would permit him to live quietly in the possession of Budaoon. Beloli threw immediately the name of Alla out of the Chutba, and spread the umbrella of empire over his own head. Alla remained at Budaoon till his death, which happened in the year eight hundred and eighty-three: his reign in Delhi being seven years, and his government of Budaoon near twenty-eight. A

Alla abdicates in favour of Beloli.

A. D. 1450. Hig. 854. weak, and sometimes a wicked, prince, while he retained the empire; in a private station, a peaceable, if not a virtuous man.

State of Asia. Persia, and the Western Tartary, were in confusion during the short reign of Alla, by means of a series of hostilities between the descendants of Timur, who had divided his conquests among them. The Mogul empire ceased, in fact, to exist, though Abu-Seid, the son of Miran Shaw, and grandson of Timur, kept up the name of it in the Western Tartary and Chorassan.

BELOLI.

BELOLI.

BELOLI was an Afghan, of the tribe of Lodi, which people, forming themselves into a commercial society, carried on a trade between Persia and Hindostan. In the time of the emperor Ferose, Ibrahim, the grandfather of Beloli, being possessed of wealth, made his way at the court of Delhi, and raised himself to the government of Moultan. Ibrahim had five sons, Sultan, Culla, Firose, Mahommed, and Chaja, who, on the death of their father, remained in Moultan.

A.D. 1450. Hig. 854.

Beloli's family.

When Chizer, afterwards emperor, was appointed to that government, Sultan received the command of all his Afghan troops. In the action which Chizer had with Eckbal, Sultan had the good fortune to kill Eckbal, by which means he became a great favourite with Chizer. He was accordingly appointed by that prince governor of Sirhind, with the title of Islam Chan, while his brothers partook of his fortune; one of whom, Calla, the father of Beloli, had a district bestowed upon him by his brother. The wife of Calla, who was his own cousin, being smothered by the fall of a house, when with child, the father instantly ripped up her belly, and saved the life of the infant, who afterwards held the empire, by the title of Sultan Beloli.

Account of his birth.

Calla being killed in an action with the Afghans of Neaz, Beloli went to his uncle Islam, at Sirhind,

Distinguishes himself in an action.

A.D. 1450. Hig. 854. hind, and upon his distinguishing himself in a battle, his uncle gave him his daughter in marriage. Islam was, at this time, so powerful, that he retained twelve thousand Afghans, mostly of his own tribe, in his service.

Islam recommends Beloli to the government of Sirhind.

Islam, at his death, though he had children of his own come to maturity, recommended Beloli to succeed him. The troops, upon this, divided into three parties, one of which adhered to Beloli, one to Ferose, brother to Islam, who had been made an omrah by the king of Delhi, and the other to Cuttub, the son of Islam. But Beloli, who was the most artful of the three, found means to weaken his rivals, and increase his own power.

Cuttub complains at the court of Delhi.

Cuttub repaired to Delhi, and acquainted the emperor Mahommed V. that the Afghans of Sirhind were establishing a power, which unless it was soon prevented, would shake the empire. The Emperor immediately dispatched his vizier Secunder, with a powerful army, to bring the chiefs of the Afghans to court, and if they disobeyed, to expel them from Sirhind. Jisserit was also instigated to take arms against them, by which means they were, in the end, driven to the hills; but upon a promise of peace, and of their future good behaviour, Firose left his son Shai Chan and Beloli with his army, and with some attendants, went to Jisserit and Secunder. They, notwithstanding their promise, by the advice of Cuttub, his nephew, who was in the imperial camp, imprisoned him and slew all his attendants. They also dispatched part of their army to reduce Beloli, but he retreated to a place of safety, with the women and children. Before he could join Shai Chan, he was attacked and defeated, and a great part of his army slain.

When Jisserit had retired to Punjab, Beloli collected the remains of his tribe, and began to raise

raise contributions, or plunder wherever he could, and as he was extremely generous in dividing the spoil among his followers, he soon became very powerful. Some time after, Firose made his escape from Delhi, and joined him; and even Cuttub, repenting of his former behaviour, found means to be reconciled to Beloli. Beloli soon after invaded Sirhind, and possessed himself of that province. Upon receiving intelligence of these transactions, the emperor Mahommed sent Hissam, his vizier, with a great army against him. Beloli took the field, and giving the vizier battle, defeated him, by which his power and reputation greatly increased. A. D. 1450. Hig. 854. Beloli becomes powerful.

We are told, that when Beloli was yet a youth in his uncle's service, one day he was permitted to pay his respects to a famous Dirvesh of Sammana, whose name was Sheidai. When he sat in a respectful posture before him, the Dirvesh cried out, in an enthusiastic manner, "Who will give two thousand rupees for the "empire of Delhi?" Upon which, Beloli told him, he had only one thousand six hundred rupees in the world, which he ordered his servant to bring immediately and present to the Dirvesh. The Dirvesh accepted the money, and, laying his hand upon the head of Beloli, saluted him king. Is promised the empire by a Dirvesh.

The companions of Beloli ridiculed him very much for this action: but he replied, "That, if "the thing came to pass, he had made a cheap "purchase; if not, the blessing of a holy man "could do him no harm." Upon a mind naturally ambitious, and in an age of superstition, this prediction of the Dirvesh might have great effect in promoting its own end; for when a man's mind is once bent upon the attainment of one object, the greatest difficulties will be Reflection upon that tale.

 often

A.D. 1450. Hig. 854. often surmounted by a steady perseverance. But to return from this digression.

After Beloli had defeated the vizier, he wrote to the emperor Mahommed, as before related, laying the whole blame of his rebellion upon the vizier's conduct towards him. When Mahommed basely complied with his desire of cutting off the vizier, Beloli, according to his promise, waited upon the king, that he might be better able to carry on his intrigues at court. He managed his affairs at Delhi so well, that the government of Sirhind was conferred upon him, together with other districts near it, confirmed to him in jagier; which were the means that enabled him to mount the throne, as we have already seen, in the former reign. He had, at the time of his accession, nine sons, Chaja Baezid, Nizam, who was afterwards king under the name of Secunder; Barbec, Mubarick, Alla, Jemmâl, Jacob, Musah, and Jellâl; and of omrahs of renown, who were related to him, there were thirty-six in the empire.

His sons and relations.

His stratagem against Hamid.

As Hamid, the vizier, who conferred the empire upon him, had great influence still in the state, he treated him for some time with honour and respect. Being one day in Hamid's house, at an entertainment, he ordered the companions whom he carried with him, to make themselves appear as foolish and ridiculous as possible, that the vizier might consider them as silly fellows; that so he might be less upon his guard against them. When they accordingly came into company, some tied their shoes to their girdles, and others put them up in the niches of the apartment. Hamid asked them the reason of that extraordinary behaviour. They replied, that they were afraid of thieves. When they had taken their seats upon the carpet, one of them began to

to praise the flowers, and brightness of the colours, saying, He would be extremely glad to have such a carpet, to send home to his own country, to make caps for his boys. Hamid laughed, and told him, he would give him velvet or brocade for that purpose. When the plates and boxes of perfumes were laid before them, some began to rub the finest otter of roses all over them, others to drink it, and others to devour whole festoons of flowers, while the beetle stood no chance, but was eat up, cover and all; some, who had eaten large pieces of chunam, by having their mouths burnt, made a terrible outcry; and, in this kind of foolery, every one was endeavouring to outdo another, while the king and the vizier were almost bursting with laughter. A.D. 1450. Hig. 854.

The vizier, imagining that this behaviour proceeded from the king's humour, who had a mind to make merry in his house, was extremely pleased, and had no suspicion of men given to so much mirth. The next visit the king paid to Hamid, a greater number of his attendants were admitted: but as Hamid had still a greater number of his own friends within the court, it was necessary to gain admission for some more of the king's people, who were stopped without by the guards. The king having before instructed them how to proceed in this case, they began loudly to wrangle with the guard, and threw out bitter invectives against the king, for permitting them to be so unworthily treated. They even swore that they respected the vizier, and would see him.

The vizier seized in his own house.

The vizier hearing this, ordered the doors to be thrown open, and as many to be admitted as the court could contain. This point being gained, the king gave the signal, and all his people drawing at once, told Hamid's servants to remain

 quiet,

A.D. 1451. Hig. 855. quiet, and they should come to no harm. Upon which two or three seized the vizier and bound him. The king then told him, that gratitude was a security for his life, but that it was necessary he should retire from business, and spend the rest of his days in the cares of a future state. After this the king ruled without fear or controul.

The same year, the eight hundred and fifty-fifth of the Higera, he left Delhi, under the charge of his eldest son, Baezid, and marched towards Moultan to recruit his army, and to regulate all the western provinces. Some of his Omrahs being dissatisfied at this time, left him, and joined Mahmood, king of Jionpoor, who, during the absence of Beloli, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty-six, advanced with a great army, and laid siege to Delhi. Beloli hastened from Debalpoor, march by march, nor halted till he reached Perah, within thirty miles of Delhi.

Beloli regulates the western provinces.

Mahmood sent thirty thousand horse, and thirty elephants, under the command of Herevi, against him. When the action began, Cuttub, who excelled in archery, having sunk an arrow in the forehead of one of Herevi's elephants, the animal became outrageous, and broke the lines. Cuttub, in the mean time, advancing against Diria Lodi, one of the disaffected omrahs, who had joined Mahmood, cried out—"For shame! "Diria, where is your honour, thus to wage war "against your own kindred, and to invest your "wife and family in the city of Delhi, when you "ought rather to defend them against your na-"tural enemies?" "Pursue me not," said Diria, "and I am gone;" and he immediately wheeled off, followed by all the Patans, or Afghans, in Herevi's army. The other troops being thus deserted, gave way, and Herevi was taken pri-

Beloli defeats the army of Mahmood.

soner; but, having, with his own hand, just killed the brother of Rai Kirren, that omrah, in revenge, struck off his head, and sent it to the emperor. Upon receiving the news of this defeat, Mahmood raised the siege of Delhi, and retreated with great precipitation to Jionpoor. A.D. 1451. Hig. 855.

The power of Beloli became firmly established, and he began to turn his thoughts upon new acquisitions. His first movement was towards Mewat, where Hamid, the vizier, submitted himself to his authority. The emperor took seven pergunnahs from Hamid, and permitted him to hold the remainder in fee. Beloli from thence marched to Birren, and Diria, governor of Simbol, presented him with seven more pergunnahs, and submitted in like manner. He then took the route of Koli, and confirmed Isah in that government. He continued his progress to Burhanabad, and gave that province to Mubarick, while Boga was delivered over to Rai Partab. But when he advanced to Raberi, Cuttub, the son of Hassen, the governor, shut himself up in the fort, but the king took it in a few days by capitulation, and again settled him in the same government. Beloli marching from thence to Attava, regulated that government, and confirmed the former Suba.

An omrah, called Jonah, quitted about this time the court in disgust, and joined Mahmood, king of the East, from whom he received the government of Shumseabad. Jonah instigated Mahmood to make another attempt upon Delhi, who, for that purpose, took the route of Attava, where he met Beloli. The armies, the first day of their appearance in sight, on both sides sent out parties to skirmish, but nothing remarkable was done, and, the next day, they began to treat, when it was agreed, that Beloli should keep possession of all the countries possessed by the emperor

The king of the East has designs upon Delhi.

A.D. 1452. Hig. 856. emperor Mubarick, and that Mahmood should hold all that was in the possession of Sultan Ibrahim, of Jionpoor; that the former should give up all the elephants taken in the engagement with Herevi, and the latter turn Jonah out of his government.

Offended with Beloli. Mahmood, immediately after this pacification, returned to Jionpoor, and Beloli went to Shumseabad to take possession of it. This latter expedition of Beloli greatly offended Mahmood, and he immediately returned to Shumseabad, where the omrahs, Cuttub and Diria, surprized his camp in the night. But during the attack, the horse of Cuttub having trod upon a tent-pin, threw him, and he was taken by the enemy, and his party retreated to their own camp. Beloli drew out his army in the morning, but received Dies. advice that Mahmood had just expired, and that the omrahs had set up his son Mahommed; and, by the mediation of Bibi Raja, the young king's mother, who probably had received previous assurances, a peace was immediately concluded. Mahommed returned to Jionpoor, and Beloli took the route of Delhi.

Before the king arrived at the capital, he received a letter from Chumse Chatoon, the sister of Cuttub, conjuring him, in the most tender manner, not to suffer her brother to remain in captivity. This prevailed upon Beloli to break the peace he had just concluded, and to march towards Jionpoor. Mahommed met him near Sirsutti. The younger brother of Mahommed, Hassen, fearing his brother's resentment for some trespass, took this opportunity of marching off, with all his adherents, to Kinnoge. Sittal, his other brother, soon followed him; but the detachment which Beloli had sent after Hassen, met Sittal on the way, and took him prisoner. Beloli determined to keep him as a ransom for Cuttub.

In

In the mean time, the omrahs conspired against Mahommed, king of the Eastern provinces, and having assassinated him, advanced Hassen, his brother, who had fled to Kinnoge, to the throne. Beloli, for what reason we know not, took no advantage of these disorders, but now entered into a truce with Hassen for the space of four years; Cuttub and Sittal being interchangeably released. Beloli returned towards Shumseabad, whither Bir-Singi, the son of Rai Partab, came to pay his respects. But as his father had taken a standard and a pair of drums formerly from the omrah Deria in an action, that base man thought to wipe off that dishonour by assassinating Bir-Singhi. Cuttub, the son of Hassen, Mubariz, and Rai Partab, differing with the cruel traitor about this murder, were obliged to fly to Hassen, king of the Eastern provinces. Beloli, after these transactions, returned to Delhi. A.D. 1452. Hig. 856. Mahommed assassinated. Treachery of Deria.

But, upon account of the rebellion of the viceroy of Moultan, and the disorders in Punjaab, he marched towards that quarter. Upon his way, he heard that the Eastern monarch, Hassen, was advancing, in his absence, with a great army, to take Delhi. He therefore, through necessity, returned, and leaving Delhi in charge of Cuttub and Jehan, he went out to meet the enemy. The two armies having met at the village of Chundwar, they skirmished without intermission for seven days. A peace was at length patched up for the term of three years. At the expiration of this truce, Hassen invested Attava, took it, and drew over Ahmed, governor of Mewat, and Rustum of Koli, to his interest, while Ahmed, who commanded at Selwan, and was also governor of Biana, struck money and read the chutba in his name. Hassen, with one hundred Beloli marches against Hassen.

A.D. 1452. Hig. 856.

hundred thousand horse and a thousand elephants, marched from Attava towards Delhi; and Beloli, no ways intimidated by that great force, marched out boldly to meet him. The two armies having advanced to Battevara, encamped for some time in sight of each other, and after some skirmishes, in which there was no superiority of advantage on either side, they again struck up a peace. But this pacification was not permanent. Hassen advanced again towards Delhi some months after, and was opposed at the village of Sinkar, and obliged to depart upon peaceable terms.

Much about this time, the mother of Hassen, Bibi Raja, died at Attava, and the Raja of Gualier and Cuttub went to console him upon that occasion. When in discourse, Cuttub perceived that Hassen was a bitter enemy of Beloli, he began to flatter him after this manner:—Beloli is one of your dependants, and cannot think of contending long with you. If I do not put you in possession of Delhi, look on my word as nothing. He then, with much art, got leave to depart from Hassen's court, and returned to Delhi, and there he told to Beloli that he had escaped with a great deal of difficulty from the hands of Hassen, who was meditating a fresh war against him.

The Emperor Alla dies.

About this time, the abdicated emperor, Alla, died at Budaoon, upon which Hassen went to settle matters at Budaoon, and, after the funeral ceremonies were over, he took that country from the children of Alla. Marching from thence to Simbol, he imprisoned Mubarick, governor of that province; then marching towards Delhi, in the year eight hundred and eighty-three, he crossed the river Jumma near Gutteruitch. Beloli, who was at Sirhind, upon receiving intelligence of this invasion, returned

Hassen marches to Delhi.

with

with all expedition to save his capital. Several slight actions ensued, in which Hassen had in general the advantage. A. D. 1478. Hig. 883.

Cuttub dispatched a person to Hassen, informing him, that Beloli was ready to relinquish all the countries beyond the Ganges, upon condition he should leave him in possession of all the provinces on this side of that river. These terms being accepted, they reversed their hostile spears, and Hassen marched homeward. But Beloli, in a perfidious manner, broke the peace, and, pursuing Hassen, attacked him upon his march, killing a great number, and taking forty omrahs prisoners, besides part of his treasure and equipage. Beloli pursued his victory, and took several districts belonging to Hassen, such as Campul, Pattiali, Shumseabad, Sickite, Marhera, Sittali, and Koli, appointing agents to manage them under himself. But when he had pursued Hassen as far as Arumbidger, the latter stood his ground, and engaged Beloli. The victory being dubious, a peace was patched up between them, the village of Doupamou being settled as the boundary between the empires. After this pacification, Hassen proceeded to Raberi, and Beloli returned to Delhi.

Beloli's perfidy.

Hassen could not, however, forget the perfidy of Beloli. He recruited his army, and some time after marched against him, and met him at the village of Sinhar, when an obstinate battle ensued, in which Hassen was defeated, and lost all his treasure and baggage, which, together with an addition of reputation, greatly promoted the affairs of Beloli. Hassen having retreated to Raberi, he was followed thither by Beloli, and upon standing a second engagement, he was again totally defeated. After the battle, he retreated towards Gualier; the raja of Gualier brought him

A.D. 1478. Hig. 883. him some lacks of rupees, elephants, horses, camels, and a fine set of camp equipage, and accompanied him to Calpie.

Beloli marched, in the mean time, to Attava, where he besieged Ibrahim, the brother of Hassen, and took the place by capitulation. He, however, generously made him a present of the fort, and proceeded to Calpie; Hassen met him upon the banks of the river, where they remained for some months. But Rai Chand of Buxar, coming over to Beloli, shewed him a passable ford in the river, by which he crossed, and attacking Hassen, defeated him and drove him to Jionpoor, upon which Beloli turned off to the left towards Kinnoge. Hassen again met him near that city, but he was once more defeated with great slaughter. His regalia and equipage were taken, and also the chief lady of his seraglio, Bibi Conza, the daughter of Alla, emperor of Delhi, who was treated with great respect. Beloli returned, after this victory, to Delhi.

Affairs of the empire. Having recruited and regulated his army, he advanced the spear of hostility again towards Jionpoor. He conquered that country, and gave it to Mubarick Lohani, leaving Cuttub, Jehan, and other omrahs, at Migouli, to secure his conquests. He himself went to Budaoon, where he soon after heard of Cuttub's death. Jehan, Mubarick, and other omrahs, though they kept up the appearance of fidelity, were, after the death of Cuttub, concerting measures to throw off Beloli's yoke. Beloli being apprized of their intentions, marched towards Jionpoor, and drove away Hassen, who had made an attempt to recover it, and placed Barbec, one of his own sons, upon the throne of Jionpoor. He himself returned to Calpie, which he took, and gave to his grandson, Azim Humaioon, the son of his eldest son Baizied. He directed then his march

to

to Dolepore, raising a tribute upon the raja of that place, who began to rank himself among Beloli's subjects. The king marched from thence to a place in the districts of Rintimpore, which he plundered, and soon after returned to Delhi. A.D. 1478. Hig. 883.

Beloli being now extremely old, and infirmities beginning daily to increase upon him, he divided his dominions among his sons, giving Jionpoor to Barbec; Kurrah and Manikpore to Mubarick; Barage to his nephew Mahommed, famous by the name of Kalla Par, or the Black Mountain; Lucknore and Calpie, to Humaioon, whose father, Baezid, was assassinated a little before by his own servant; Budaoon to Chan Jehan, one of his old omrahs, and a relation; and Delhi, with several countries between the two rivers, to his son Nizam, known afterwards by the name of Sultan Secunder, whom he appointed his successor in the imperial dignity. Beloli, old and infirm.

Some time after this division the emperor proceeded to Gualier, and raising a tribute of eighty lacks of rupees from the raja of that place, came to Attava, from whence he expelled Sickit Sing, and then turned his face towards Delhi. Falling sick upon his march, many of the omrahs were desirous that he should alter his former will, with respect to the succession, which, they said, was the undoubted right of Humaioon, his grandson. The sultana, upon this, wrote to her son Nizam, who, having heard of his father's illness, was setting out from Delhi, by no means to come, otherwise he might be imprisoned by the omrahs: at the same time the king, by the advice of some omrahs, ordered public letters to be sent him, to hasten him to the camp, that he might see him before his death. Nizam was greatly perplexed how to act upon this nice occasion. He, at length, was advised by Cuttuluk, the vizier of the Eastern emperor Hassen, who He falls sick.

was

A.D. 1488. Hig. 894. was then prisoner at Delhi, to pitch his tents without the city, and to advance by very slow marches. In the mean time, the king's disease overcame him, and he died at Malauli, in the pergunnah of Sikite, in the year eight hundred and ninety-four, having reigned thirty-eight years, eight months, and seven days.

Dies.

His character. Beloli was, for those days, esteemed a virtuous and mild prince, executing justice to the utmost of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers rather as his companions than his subjects. When he came to the empire, he divided the public treasure among his friends, and could be seldom prevailed upon to mount the throne, saying, "That it was enough for him that the world "knew he was king, without his making a vain "parade of royalty." He was extremely temperate in his diet, and seldom ate at home. Though a man of no great literature himself, he was fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merit. He had given so many proofs of personal bravery that none could doubt it; at the same time, he was often cautious to excess, never choosing to trust much to chance, and delighting greatly in negotiation.

State of Asia. During the long reign of Beloli, in Delhi, the empire of Persia remained divided into a number of petty principalities, most of them subject to the descendants of Timur-Bec and Zingis Chan. Ismaiel, who afterwards founded the dynasty of the Sosis of Persia, began to make some figure, in the Western Asia, before the death of Beloli. Transoxiana, the most of Chorassan, and the provinces towards the Indus, were subject to the posterity of Timur, who were engaged in almost uninterrupted hostilities against one another.

SECUN-

SECUNDER I.

THE omrahs, immediately upon the death of Beloli, formed themselves into a council, in which some appeared to be attached to the interest of Azim Humaioon, some to Barbec, the eldest son of the Sultan then living, and some to Nizam, who had assumed the name of Secunder, in consequence of his father's will. When they were debating, the mother of Secunder, whose name was Rana, originally a goldsmith's daughter, but raised to the Sultan's bed by the fame of her beauty, came behind the curtain in the great tent, and made a speech to the omrahs in favour of her son. Upon which Isah, the nephew of Beloli, answered her in a disrespectful manner, and concluded with saying, that a goldsmith's offspring was not qualified to hold the empire. A.D. 1488. Hig. 894. The omrahs variously inclined.

Firmilli, who had been dignified, by Beloli, with the title of first of the nobles, a stout daring man, took him up, and told him, That Beloli was yet scarce cold in his hearse, and that the man who threw such ungenerous aspersions upon his family ought to be despised. Isah replied, That silence would better become him, who was only a servant of the state. Upon which the other rose up in a rage, and told him, he was indeed a servant of Secunder, and would maintain his right against all who durst oppose it. He rushed out of the council, followed by all his party, and carried off the body of the deceased Firmilli's boldness.

A.D. 1488. Hig. 894. king to Jellali, where he was met by Secunder, who there ascended his father's throne.

Secunder mounts the throne. Secunder sending the corpse of his father to Delhi, marched against Isah, and having defeated him, afterwards forgave his offence. Returning then to Delhi, he, in the manner of his father, conferred favours upon all his kindred. Secunder had, at this time, six sons, Ibrahim, Jellâl, Ishmaiel, Hassein, Mahmood, and Humaioon, and likewise fifty-three omrahs of distinction of his own family, in his service.

Defeats and pardons Isah.

Marches against his brother Allum. Some time after his accession, Secunder marched towards Raberi, and besieged his own brother, Allum, in the fort of Chundwar, for some days. Allum evacuated the place, and fled to Isah Lodi, at Pattiali. Secunder gave Raberi to Firmilli, went in person to Attava, and calling Allum, his brother, to court, gave him possession of that country. He then advanced to Pattiali, engaged Isah a second time, wounded, and defeated him; after which Isah threw himself upon Secunder's mercy, was pardoned, and soon after died of his wound.

Again defeats Isah.

Secunder, about that time, sent a trusty person to Barbec, his brother, king of Jionpoor, desiring he would do him homage, and order his name to be read first in the chutba all over his dominions. Barbec rejected these proposals, and Secunder marched against him. Barbec and Calla Par came out in order of battle to meet him. An action ensued, in which Calla Par, charging too far among the troops of Delhi, was taken prisoner. Secunder, upon seeing him, alighted from his horse, and embraced him, saying, that he esteemed him as his father, and begged to be looked upon as his son. Calla Par, confounded at the honour done him, replied, that, except his life, he had nothing to make a recompence for such kindness, desiring to get a horse, that he might show

Marches against his brother Barbec.

His policy.

show himself not wholly unworthy of the royal favour. He was accordingly mounted, and perfidiously sold his reputation for a compliment, turning his sword against Barbec; which circumstance, in some measure, contributed to the success of Secunder. The troops of Barbec seeing Calla Par charging them, imagined that all his forces were also gone over to the enemy, and betook themselves to flight. Barbec did all that bravery could perform; but finding himself deserted, he fled to Budaoon, while Mubaric, his son, was taken prisoner. Secunder pursuing him close, invested Barbec in Budaoon, who, soon driven to distress, capitulated, and was received with great kindness and respect. The king carried Barbec with him to Jionpoor; but as Hassen, the expelled king of the eastern provinces, was still a powerful prince in Behar, he thought Barbec would be the properest person to check him, and accordingly confirmed him as before in the government of Jionpoor; leaving, however, some trusty friends at his court, upon whom he bestowed estates and jurisdictions, to keep them firm in his own interest.

A.D. 1488. Hig. 894.

Barbec defeated.

Secunder returning to Calpie, took the place from his brother Azim Humaioon, and gave it to Mahmood Lodi. He marched from thence to Kurrah, and Talar the governor paying him homage, he confirmed him in his office, and turning towards the fort of Gualier, he sent one of his omrahs Chaja with an honorary dress to Raja Maan, who dispatched his nephew with presents to accompany the king to Biana. Sherrif, the governor of Biana, met the emperor upon friendly terms. The king ordered him to give up Biana, and he would appoint him governor of Tellasar, Chandwar, Marrara, and Sekite. Sherrif took Omar Serwani with him to put him in possession of the fort, but when he had got within the walls, he

Secunder marches to Calpie.

A. D. 1488. Hig. 894. he shut the gates upon Omar, and prepared to defend himself. The king despairing to reduce the place, went to Agra, where Hybut, who held that fort under Sherrif, as governor of Biana, shut the gates against him, contrary to his expectation. This insult enraged the Sultan to that degree, that he determined, let the event be what it would, to reduce Sherrif to his obedience. He accordingly, leaving part of his army to besiege Agra, returned in person, with the utmost expedition, towards Biana, which he immediately besieged. The siege proved long and bloody; however, Sherrif, in the end, was obliged to capitulate, in the year eight hundred and ninety-seven, and his government was given to Firmilli, who had been dignified with the title of first of the nobles.

Reduces Biana,

and Agra.

The fort of Agra falling, about the same time, into Secunder's hands, he returned to Delhi, where, in a few days, he received advices of an insurrection at Jionpoor, among the zemindars, to the number of one hundred thousand horse and foot; and that they had already slain Sheri, the brother of Mubarick the governor of Kurrah. Mubarick himself being driven from Kurrah, was taken prisoner by Rai Bhede, of Battea, and Barbec obliged to go to Barage, to solicit the assistance of Calla Par; so that the king, after twenty-two days respite at Delhi, was under the necessity of marching towards Jionpoor. When he arrived at Dilmow, he was joined by Barbec; and Rai Bhede hearing of Secunder's approach, released Mubarick, and the zemindars dispersed themselves. The Sultan carried Barbec to Jionpoor, and having left him there to punish the offenders, he spent a month in hunting about Oud. At Oud intelligence was brought to Secunder, that the zemindars had risen again, and besieged Barbec in Jionpoor. He ordered immediately that Calla Par, Humaioon Serwani, and Lowani, by

An insurrection at Jionpoor.

by the way of Oud, and Mubarick by the way of Kurrah, should march against them, and send Barbec prisoner to the presence. His orders were accordingly executed, Barbec was given in charge to Hybut and Omar Serwani, being esteemed an improper person for the government, and too dangerous to be trusted with his liberty. A. D. 1491. Hig. 897.

The king, after these transactions, marched towards Chinar, which was held for Sultan Hassen of the East; upon his approach, the garrison made a sally, and were driven back into the fort; but Secunder, upon reconnoitring the place, looked upon it as almost impregnable, and immediately left it, marching his army towards Battea. Rai Bhede came out of Battea, and paid him homage, upon which the king confirmed him in his dominions, and returned to Areil, ordering Rai Bhede to accompany him; but Rai Bhede suspecting some design against himself, left all his retinue, and deserted the camp alone. Secunder sent him back his effects. He, however, permitted his troops to plunder the country of Areil, and, crossing the river by the way of Kurrah, went to Dilmow, where he married the widow of Sheri, the late governor of that place. From Dilmow Secunder marched to Shumseabad, where he remained six months, and then went to Simbol; but returning from thence, in a few days, to Shumseabad, he plundered the town of Mudeo-makil, where a band of banditti resided. Secunder spent the rainy season at Shumseabad. In the year nine hundred, Secunder made another campaign towards Battea, defeating Bir Singh, the son of Rai Bhede, at Carrangatti who fled to Battea; but upon the king's approach, Rai Bhede took the route of Sirkutch, and died upon his march. Secunder, after this victory, proceeded to Sezdewar; but provisions

Rai Bhede submits.

A. D. 1491. Hig. 897. growing scarce in his camp, he was obliged to return to Jionpoor, having in this expedition lost a great part of his cavalry by fatigue, bad roads, and the want of forage.

Lickim, the son of Rai Bhede, and other zemindars, wrote to Sultan Hassen, the titular king of the East, now in possession of the province of Behâr, that the cavalry of Secunder was now in a wretched condition, and that it was an excellent opportunity for him to take satisfaction for his former defeats. This induced Hassen to put his army in motion, and march directly against Secunder. The emperor hearing of his intentions, put his army upon the best footing possible, and crossed the Ganges to meet him, which he did thirty-six miles from Benaris: An obstinate battle was fought, in which Hassen was defeated and fled to Battea.

Hassen sets upon Secunder,

but is overthrown.

Secunder leaving his camp with a proper guard, pursued the fugitives for three days, with a party of horse; but hearing that Hassen was gone to Behâr, he stopped, and upon the ninth day returned to his camp. He soon after marched with his whole army towards Behâr, but upon his approach, Hassen left Cundu to guard the city, and fled himself to Calgaw, in the dominion of Bengal. Alla, then king of Bengal, called Hassen to his court, and treated him with the greatest respect during the remainder of his days, which he passed with him; so that with Hassen the royal line of Jionpoor was extinguished.

Secunder marches to Behâr,

Secunder, from his camp at Deopar, sent a division of his army against Cundu, who evacuated the city and fled, leaving the whole country open to the enemy. The king left Mohabut with a force in Behâr, and marched towards Turhat, the raja of which submitted himself to his clemency, and laying down a large sum, agreed to pay

which is evacuated.

Bengal invaded.

pay an annual tribute. To collect the tribute, the Sultan left Mubarick, and returned to Derveshpoor, and from thence went to visit the tomb of Shech Sherrif at Behâr, and distributed presents to the Dirveshes who lived there upon the charity of pilgrims. A.D. 1494. Hig. 900.

Secunder having regulated his army, marched towards Bengal; but when he had reached Cuttlishpoor, Alla king of Bengal sent Danial his son to oppose him. Secunder detached Zere Zichme, one of his generals, to acquaint him, that he had no intention to subdue the country, but as their dominions now bordered upon each other, it became necessary to know upon what footing he must esteem Alla, before he left that country. The king of Bengal gladly accepted of a peace, wherein it was stipulated, that neither monarch should permit any of their governors to invade each other's dominions, and that neither of them should give protection to the other's enemies. A peace concluded between Secunder and Alla.

Secunder returned to Derveshpoor. Mubarick at that time dying, the care of Turhat was given to Azim Humaioon, the son of Chan Jehan, and Behâr was bestowed upon Deria, the son of Mubarick. There happened, at this time, a great dearth in the country, but all duties being taken off by the king's order, that calamity was in a great measure mitigated. Secunder, in the mean time, reducing the districts of Sarin, which were then in the hands of some zemindars, gave the lands in jagiers to some of his omrahs; then returning by the way of Movilligur to Jionpoor, he resided there six months. A dearth in Hindostan.

Secunder having asked the daughter of Sal Bahin, raja of Battea, in marriage, the father refused to comply with his request. Secunder, to revenge this affront, put his army in motion against the raja, in the year nine hundred and four, Battea taken and destroyed.

 and

A.D. 1494. Hig. 900.

and marching to Battea, sacked it. After having ravaged the country round Bandugur, he returned to Jionpoor, where he spent some time in the civil regulations of the empire. About this time, the accounts of Mubarick Lodi being inspected for the time of his administration in Jionpoor, and a great balance being found due to the royal revenue, the king ordered it to be levied upon him. This severity greatly disgusted the omrahs, among whom Mubarick was very much esteemed. A faction accordingly arose in the army, which first discovered itself by private quarrels. For, one day, as the Sultan and his court were playing a party at club and ball, on horseback, the club of Hybut, by accident, or design, wounded one Soliman in the head. Chizer, the brother of Soliman, came up, and returned the compliment to Hybut; so that in a few minutes, the parties on both sides joined in the quarrel, and the whole field was in one uproar and confusion.

The omrahs dissatisfied.

Quarrels in the camp.

The Sultan suspects a conspiracy.

Secunder, fearing a conspiracy, fled to the palace, but nothing of that kind transpiring, he made another party at the same game, some days thereafter, and a quarrel of the same nature ensued, for which Shumse Chan, who begun it, was disgraced and bastinadoed. But the Sultan would not be satisfied but that there was some plot in agitation, and therefore ordered his guards to be selected, and to keep upon the watch. The king's jealousies were not groundless; for at that time, Hybut, and two other chiefs, had proposed to Fatti Chan, the king's brother, to cut off the Sultan, who, they said, was now disliked by the generality of the chiefs, and to place Fatti upon the throne. Fatti desiring some time to consider of it, disclosed the secret to Shech Cabuli, and to his own mother, who advised him against so horrid an action; and, lest the affair should, by any other

A plot discovered.

other means, transpire, she desired him to acquaint the king of their proposal. This he did accordingly, and the conspirators were detached upon different services, where they were put to death by Secunder's orders.

A.D. 1498. Hig. 904.

Secunder, in the year nine hundred and five, marched to Simbol, where he spent four years in pleasure, and in transacting civil affairs. But hearing of some bad administration of Afghir, the governor of Delhi, he sent an order to Chawass Chan, governor of Matchiwarri, to march to Delhi, and send Afghir prisoner to court. The governor receiving advice of this order, left Delhi, and threw himself at the king's feet, but not being able to form any excuse for his bad practices, he was ordered into confinement.

Secunder retires for four years to Simbol.

At this time there happened a remarkable instance of religious zeal and persecution. A Brahmin, whose name was Bhodin, upon being abused by a Mahommedan, for his idolatry, happened to make a very moderate, but what proved to him a fatal reply. The reply was this: "That "he esteemed the same God to be the object of "all worship, and, therefore, believed the Ma-"hommedan and Hindoo religions to be equally "good." The bigoted Mahommedan, for what he thought the impiety of this answer, summoned the Brahmin immediately before the casy or chief judge of the city. The affair making some noise, by the various opinions of the public, the king called together all the Mahommedan doctors of fame in the empire, to decide the cause. After many long disputes, the doctors brought in their opinion, that the Brahmin ought to be forced to turn Mahommedan, or be put to death. The Brahmin, however charitable he might have been to all opinions upon religion, refused to apostatize, and accordingly died a martyr to his faith, which

A remarkable instance of religious persecution.

A. D. 1499. Hig. 905. which reflects no small dishonour upon Secunder and his inquisitors.

When Chawass, whom we have already mentioned, entered Delhi, he found an order from the Emperor to proceed immediately to court, with which he instantly complied. At the same time, a certain omrah called Seid Sirwani came from Lahore, who was a man of a very factious disposition, and commenced some treasonable projects, for which he, Tattar, and Mahummud, were banished to Guzerat.

Some factious Omrahs banished.

In the nine hundred and seventh of the Higera, Rai Man Sing, of Gualier, sent one of his dependants called Nehal to the king with rich presents; but as this ambassador talked in too high a strain, Secunder ordered him to depart, and declared war against his master. But he was prevented from the execution of his purpose, for some time, by the death of Firmilli, governor of Biana, and by those disturbances in that province, which succeeded that governor's death. The government of Biana having devolved upon Ameid Soliman, the son of Firmilli, who was yet too young and unexperienced for such a charge, the king gave that appointment to Chawass. Sifdir was sent with a force to reduce Agra, which belonged to the province of Biana, and had then revolted; another detachment being sent, at the same time, to reduce the fort of Dolipoor, which was in the possession of Raja Benacdeo, who had begun to make warlike preparations. Here Chaja Bein, a warrior of great fame, fell by the sword, which so irritated Secunder, who had a great esteem for him, that he marched himself against that place. Upon his approach Benacdeo left some friends in the fort, and fled towards Gualier; but the garrison, the next night, evacuated the place, and left the king to take possession of it. He tarried there about a month, and then marched

Secunder's designs against Gualier.

marched to Gualier. The raja of which place, changing his haughty style, now humbly sued for peace, sending to him Seid, Baboo, Raid Ginis, and others, who had, at different times, fled from Secunder, and taken protection under him. At the same time, he sent his own son, Bickermagit, with presents, who had the address to procure peace. A. D. 1501. Hig. 907.

Secunder returned to Dolipoor, which he again bestowed upon Benacdeo; then marching to Agra, he, for the first time, made that city imperial, by fixing his residence there, and abandoning the city of Delhi. Here he remained during the rains, and, in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Munderael, which he took, and destroyed the Hindoo temples, ordering mosques to be built in their stead. Secunder returning to Dolipoor, removed the raja from his office, and gave it to one Kimir. He passed from thence to Agra, giving his omrahs leave to return to their respective estates. **Makes Agra the royal residence.**

In the following year, upon Sunday the third of Sifter, there was a violent earthquake in Agra, so that the mountains shook on their broad bases, and every lofty building was levelled with the ground, some thousands being buried in the ruins. Secunder, in the same year, moved towards Gualier, and stopped by the way some time at Dolipoor, where he left his family, and, with an unincumbered army of horse, proceeded to the hills, to plunder some Hindoo rajas, from whom he took great spoils, and ravaged their peaceful habitations. Just as the king was passing by the town of Javer, in the dominions of the raja of Gualier, he was attacked by a resolute body of men, who had lain in ambush for him; but, by the bravery of Awid and Ahmed, the sons of Chan Jehan, the Hindoos were defeated, and a great number of rajaputs put to the sword. **An earthquake at Agra.**

The

A.D. 1504. Hig. 910.

Secunder besieges Awintgur, which is taken.

The Sultan returned to Agra; and, in the year nine hundred and twelve, he went towards the fort of Awintgur; and, as he had despaired of reducing Gualier, he bent his whole strength to the reduction of this place. It was accordingly, in a short time, taken, and all the rajaput garrison put to the sword, the temples destroyed, and mosques ordered to be built in their place. This government was conferred upon Bickin, the son of Mujahid Chan, when some envious persons gave the king information that Mujahid had taken a bribe from the raja of Awintgur, when they were marching against him, in order to divert the king from that resolution. This being proved, Mujahid was imprisoned at Dolipoor; after which the king, returning towards Agra, on the way lost eight hundred men, in one day, for want of water.

Marches against Narvar.

Secunder, eyeing from his march the ruins of Agra, moved towards Narvar, a strong fort, in the district of Malava, then in the possession of the Hindoos. He ordered Jellal, governor of Calpie, to advance before him, and invest the place, which was accordingly done. When the king arrived before Narvar, Jellal drew up his army, out of respect, that the king might review them as he passed. The circumstance proved very hurtful to Jellal, for, from that time, the king became jealous of his power, and determined to ruin him. Secunder surrounded the place, which was sixteen miles in circumference, and began to carry on the siege. The siege was now protracted eight months, when the Sultan received intelligence, that a treasonable correspondence was carried on between some of his omrahs and the garrison, for which Jellal and Sheri were imprisoned in the fort of Awintgur. The garrison, soon after, was obliged to capitulate, for want of provisions, and the king remained, for the space

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of six months, at Narvar, breaking down temples, and building mosques. He there also established a kind of monastery, which he filled with divines and learned men. A. D. 1506. Hig. 912.

Shab ul Dien, the son of Nasir, king of Malava, being at this time discontented with his father, proposed to have a conference with Secunder. The king immediately sent him a dress, and promised to support him in the government of Chinderi, against the power of his father. But circumstances so fell out, that it became unnecessary to take that unnatural step.

Various motions of the King.

The Sultan, in the month of Shuban, in the year nine hundred and fourteen, marched from Narvar; but after he had advanced to the river Ganges, he began to consider that it would be proper to surround that fortress with another wall. He therefore ordered that work to be immediately begun, and then he himself took the route of Lohar. At that place he bestowed Calpie, in jagier, upon Niamut Chatoon, the wife of Cuttub Lodi, and daughter of the prince Jellâl, his brother. He then directed his march towards the capital, and arriving at Hitgat, sent a detachment against some rebels in that country, and destroyed all their habitations, placing small garrisons at proper distances to overawe them. About this time he received advices, that Ahmed, the son of Mubarick Lodi, governor of Lucknore, had turned idolater; upon which orders were dispatched to send him prisoner to court, and that his second brother, Sud Chan, should take the administration of affairs in his stead. In the year nine hundred and fifteen, the king marched to Dolipoor, and ordered caravanseras to be built at every stage. Mahummud Nagori having defeated Ali and Abu Beker, who had conspired against him, they fled to Secunder for protection. Mahummud, fearing they would bring the king against

A.D. 1509. Hig. 915. against him, sent presents by way of prevention, and ordered the chutba to be read in Secunder's name. The Sultan, pleased with his submission, sent him a dress of confirmation, and returned to Agra.

Transactions at Dolipoor. He spent some months there in building, making spacious gardens, and in hunting, then returned to Dolipoor, ordering Soliman, the son of Firmilli, to succour Hussen Chan. Soliman very imprudently told the king, that he could not prevail upon himself to leave the presence. This expression threw Secunder into a violent rage, and he forthwith ordered him from his service and camp by next morning at day-light, or that otherwise all his effects should be given to the soldiers as public plunder.

Reduces Chinderi. Much about this time, Bogit Chan, governor of Chinderi, who held that place of the king of Malava, seeing the weakness of his own prince, turned his face to Secunder. That monarch sent Amad ul Muluck to support Bogit in his rebellion. He soon after returned to Agra, and issued a proclamation, bearing the submission of Bogit, and his own consequent right to that country. He sent more troops and omrahs to Chinderi, who entirely settled it as an appendage of the empire. Bogit found matters carried on in his government in such a manner, that he was constrained to resign his office, and come to court.

Peace in the empire. After this, we find no transactions worthy of memory in the empire, till the year nine hundred and twenty-two. Ali Nagori, suba of Suisuper, in that year prevailed upon Dowlat, governor of Rintimpore, which he then held of Malava, to deliver the fort to Secunder, if that monarch should come in person to take possession of it. Secunder, with great joy, closed with the proposal, and set out towards Biana, to which place the governor of Rintimpore came to meet him, and

and was graciously received. But Ali, who had been disappointed in some favours which he expected, for bringing this matter to bear, resolved still to prevent the accomplishment of it. He had so much influence upon the governor, that he made him retract his promise about giving up the fort, though he had put himself in the Sultan's power. The Sultan having found out the cause of this change, disgraced Ali, and deprived him of his government, but was obliged to return to Agra without succeeding in his design upon Rintimpore, setting the governor at liberty, notwithstanding he had so egregiously deceived him. A. D. 1509. Hig. 915.

To Agra the king summoned all the distant omrahs together, with an intention to reduce Gualier. But he was, in the midst of his preparations, in the year nine hundred and twenty-three, taken ill of a quinsey, of which he died, having reigned, with great reputation and ability, twenty-eight years and five months. The parts which he exhibited during his reign, justified the choice of his father, who singled him out, though a younger son, as the person most capable to support a title to which his family had no claim by inheritance. Dies.

A great revolution happened in Persia, during the reign of Secunder in Hindostan. Ismael Sosi, having reduced the western provinces of Persia, possessed himself of Chorassan and the Western Tartary, by the defeat and death of Shubiani, the Usbec, who had dispossessed the family of Timur of those countries. The famous Sultan Baber, in the mean time, continued to reign in Cabul and the provinces towards the Indus. State of Asia at the death of Secunder.

IBRA-

IBRAHIM II.

A.D. 1516. Hig. 922.

Ibrahim proud and arrogant.

SECUNDER dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim * immediately succeeded him in the throne. This prince, contrary to the maxims and policy of his father and grandfather, behaved himself with insupportable pride and arrogance to his friends and family. One foolish expression of his was, that kings had no relations, but that every body should be the slaves of royalty. The omrahs, of the tribe of Lodi, who were always before honoured with a seat in the presence, were now constrained to stand by the throne, with their hands crossed before them. They were so much disgusted with this insolence, that they privately became his enemies.

A conspiracy.

A conspiracy therefore was formed, by the omrahs of Lodi, in which it was agreed to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and a few dependent provinces, and to place the prince Jellal, his brother, upon the throne of Jionpoor. Jellal marched from Calpie, by the aid and advice of the disaffected omrahs, and mounted the throne of Jionpoor. He appointed his cousin, Fatte Chan, his vizier, who brought over all the omrahs of the Eastern provinces to his interest.

The empire divided.

Jehan Lohani came at that time from Beri, to congratulate Ibrahim upon his accession, and, in a very high strain, began to blame the omrahs for dividing the empire, which, he said, would be

* His titles were, Sultan Ibrahim Ben Sultan Secunder.

be attended with many evil consequences to the family of Lodi. The omrahs, sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as Jellal could not be yet well established, to call him back, and so divest him of his new assumed royalty. They accordingly sent Hybut, with deceptious letters, to recal him, saying, that there was a scheme for him in agitation, and that it was necessary he should speedily come to support it.

A. D. 1516. Hig. 922.

Designs to reunite it.

But Hybut having overacted his part, by flattery and importunity, Jellal suspected a plot against himself, and wrote them a genteel excuse. They, however, not discovering his jealousy, sent Firmilli and other omrahs to enforce the request of Hybut; but Jellal took no notice of their solicitations or intrigues. Ibrahim, and his omrahs, finding that these baits would not take with Jellal, issued a proclamation, declaring all the omrahs, who should join him, traitors to the state; at the same time sending presents and messengers to all the principal officers in those parts. These means had the desired effect, and the omrahs, on the side of Jellal, were brought over from his interest, by degrees. The affairs of Jellal declining in this manner, he saw that nothing but a resolute attempt could retrieve them. He accordingly marching to Calpie, secured his family in that fort; and, collecting all his strength, assumed the title of emperor, under the title of Jellal ul Dien, and was determined to try his fortune in the field. He sent, at the same time, a trusty ambassador to Azim Humaioon, who held Callinger for Ibrahim, and had a great army in pay, to beg his assistance. Azim was prevailed upon to join him; and a resolution was formed, first to settle the countries about Jionpoor, and afterwards to think of affairs of still greater moment. They accordingly marched, with

The omrahs endeavour in vain to inveigle Jellal from Jionpoor.

A.D. 1518. Hig. 924. with all expedition, against Mubarick Lodi, suba of Oud, whom they drove to Lucknore.

Ibrahim hearing of these transactions, marched his army to that quarter, sending his other brothers, in confinement, to Hassi, where he pensioned them for life. Upon his march towards Oud, he was informed that Azim Humaioon had deserted Jellal, and was now upon his way to meet him, which gave him great joy. He sent some omrahs to escort him to his camp, where he was very favourably received. A number of other omrahs, of those parts, joined Ibrahim; and he dispatched the greatest part of his army, under the command of Azim Humaioon Lodi, against his brother. But before Azim could come up with Jellal, he threw a garrison into Calpie, and, with thirty thousand horse, gave him the slip, and marched directly towards Agra; while Azim laid siege to Calpie. Jellal had it now in his power either to take possession of, or to plunder, the treasury. But he seems to have been perfectly infatuated. Adam, who was in the city with a small garrison, not only prevailed upon him to relinquish that advantage, but amused him with hopes of his brother's favor, till he sent him all his ensigns of royalty. Adam went so far as to promise to Jellal the government of Calpie, and other advantages, without having any powers of treating from the king.

Jellal marches to Agra,

Adam sent the whole to Ibrahim, and acquainted him of every particular. But the king having now taken Calpie, and the treaty being concluded without his authority, he took no notice of it, but marched against Jellal, who, now deserted by his army for his pusillanimity, was obliged to fly to Gualier, and solicit the protection of the raja of that place. Ibrahim came to Agra, where he remained to regulate the affairs of the government, which, since the death of Secunder,

and flies to Gualier.

Secunder, had fallen into great confusion. The omrah, Karim, was sent to take charge of Delhi, and Mungu to Chunderi. A.D. 1519. Hig. 925.

About this time, the king, without any apparent reason, conceived a disgust at Miah Boah, who was formerly vizier to Secunder, and put him in chains, conferring at the same time great honours upon his son. He then formed a resolution of reducing Gualier, ordering Azim Humaioon to march from Kurrah against it, with thirty thousand horse, and three hundred elephants. Seven other omrahs, with armies, were sent to reinforce Azim. Jellal, who had taken refuge in Gualier, being intimidated, fled to the king of Malava. The imperial army arriving before Gualier, invested the place, and in a few days raja Man Sing, who was a prince of great valour and capacity, died, and his son, Bickermagit, succeeded him in the rajaship. After the siege had been carried on some months, the army of Ibrahim at length possessed themselves of an outwork at the foot of the hill, upon which the fort, called Badilgur, stood. They found in that place a brazen bull, which had been a long time worshipped there, and sent it to Agra; fom whence it was afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and placed at the gate of Bagdat. An army sent against Gualier.

The unfortunate Jellal, who had gone over to king Mahmood of Malava, not being well received there, fled to the raja of Kurykatka, but was seized upon by the way, and sent prisoner to Ibrahim's camp. Ibrahim pretended to send him prisoner to Hassi, but gave private orders to assassinate him upon the way, which was accordingly done.—What are those charms in power which could induce a man to shed the blood of a brother? Nor was Ibrahim satisfied with the death of Jellal; he imbrued his hands in the blood of several omrahs of great distinction. He called Jellal taken, and assassinated.

A.D. 1519. Hig. 925. Azim Sirwani from Gualier, when just upon the point of taking the place, imprisoned him and his son Fatte, turning out his other son Islam from the subaship of Kurrah. But when Islam had heard of his father's and brother's imprisonment, and of his own disgrace, he erected the standard of rebellion, defeating Ahmed who was sent to take his government. The Sultan having received advices of the reduction of Gualier, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindoos, he had leisure to turn all his power to suppress the rebellion at Kurrah. Azim Humaioon and Seid, after the reduction of the place, were permitted to go to their jagiers at Lucknore; where, joining the interest of Islam, they stirred up more disturbances.

A rebellion. Ibrahim placing very little dependence upon the fidelity of the troops which he had near him, issued orders for those of the distant provinces to repair to his standards. He, in the mean time, conferred great favours upon Ahmed, the brother of Azim Humaioon, and giving him the command of the army, sent him against Islam. Ahmed having arrived in the environs of Kinnoge, Eckbal, a dependent of Azim Sirwani, rushed out from an ambush with five thousand horse, and having cut off a number of the imperial troops, made good his retreat. The king was greatly exasperated against Ahmed, upon receiving intelligence of this defeat. He wrote to him not to expect his favour, if he did not quickly exterminate the rebels; at the same time, by way of precaution, sending another army to support him. The rebels were now about forty thousand strong in cavalry, besides five hundred elephants, and a great body of infantry. When Ahmed had received the reinforcement which we have mentioned, and the two armies came in sight of each other, raja Bochari, who was esteemed

esteemed the first man for parts in that age, was desirous of bringing affairs to an amicable accommodation. Overtures being made, the rebels consented to dismiss their army, upon condition that Azim Sirwani should be set at liberty. Ibrahim would not hearken to these terms. He sent orders to Diria Lohani, governor of Behar, to Nisir Lohani, and Firmilli, to advance from that quarter against the rebels. The insurgents foolishly permitted themselves to be amused till the armies from Behar joined. The treaty being then broke off, they were reduced either to fly, or fight upon unequal terms. A. D. 1519. Hig. 925.

They resolved upon the latter, and accordingly drew up in order of battle. Urged on by despair and resentment, they did justice to valour, and were upon the point of defeating the imperialists, when Islam was killed, and Seid dismounted and taken. These unfortunate accidents discouraging the troops, they stopped short, and soon after turned their face to flight. Their dominions, treasure, and baggage, fell at once into the hands of the king. The rebels overthrown.

Ibrahim now gave full scope to his hatred and resentment against the omrahs of Secunder, and many of them were barbarously put to death. Azim Humaioon Sirwani, Miah Boah, and others, who were in confinement, were, at the same time, assassinated, and fear and terror took possession of every heart. These cruelties and assassinations gave rise to another rebellion. Dirai Lohani, suba of Behar, Jehan Lodi, and Firmilli, turned their heads from the yoke of obedience. Ibrahim having received intelligence of this defection, sent a private order to the saints of Chunderi, to take off Firmilli, suba of that country, and these holy persons accordingly assassinated him in his bed. This fresh instance of Ibrahim's tyranny and cruelty.

A.D. 1519. Hig. 925. Ibrahim's baseness and tyranny, served only to create him more enemies.

Diria, of the tribe of Lodi, suba of Beria, died about this time, and his son of the same name assumed the title of emperor, under the name of Mahommed, with all the ensigns of royalty. He was joined by all the discontented omrahs, and found himself at the head of an hundred thousand horse, with which he took possession of all the countries as far as Simbol, defeating the imperial troops in repeated engagements. Ghazi Lodi came about this time with the army from Lahore, by the Sultan's orders. But having heard of his tyrannies by the way, he was apprehensive of danger to himself, and returned to his father, Dowlat, at Lahore. Dowlat, seeing no safety but in extremity, revolted from the Sultan, and solicited Baber, the mogul, who then reigned in Cabul, to come to the conquest of Hindostan. The first thing, however, that Dowlat did, was to obtain from Baber, Alla, the brother of Ibrahim, now in the service of Cabul. Supporting him, as a cover to his measures, with his whole force, he reduced the country as far as Delhi. Alla was joined by the omrahs of those parts, so that his army now consisted of upwards of forty thousand horse, with which he invested Delhi. Ibrahim resolved to march against him, but when he came within six crores of Alla's army, he was surprized by that prince in the night. A confused and tumultuous fight was maintained to day-light, when Ibrahim found that he was deserted by some of his omrahs, who had joined Alla. Ibrahim observing, in the morning, that the troops of Alla were dispersed, in plundering the royal camp, rallied a number of his troops, and the greatest part of his elephants, returned to the attack, and drove him off the field with great slaughter. Ibrahim entered Delhi in triumph,

Another rebellion.

triumph, and Alla, seeing no hopes of reducing it, retreated to Punjaab. A. D. 1525. Hig. 932.

In the year nine hundred and thirty-two, no remarkable event happened in the empire, till Baber drew his army against Ibrahim, as will be hereafter related at large, overthrew him in the field of Panniput, deprived him of his life and kingdom, and transferred the empire from the Afghan tribe of Lodi, to the family of Timur. Ibrahim reigned twenty years: a cruel, proud, and wicked prince, though possessed of ordinary parts, and extremely brave.

State of Asia.

For the first eight years of the emperor Ibrahim, Ismael, the first of the Sofi family, reigned in Persia. He was succeeded by his son Shaw Tamasp, who acceded to the Persian throne, upon the death of his father, which happened in the nine hundred and thirtieth of the Higera.

BABER*.

A.D. 1525. Hig. 932. Of the family of Baber.

ABU SEID, who held the titles of the mogul empire in the western Tartary, and in Chorassan, dying in Irac †, left eleven sons, Ahmed, Mahmood, Mahommed, Sharoch, Ali, Amer Shech, Abubekir, Murad, Chilili, Mirza, Willid, and Amer ‡. Four of the brothers arrived to the dignity of kings; Ali to the throne of Cabul; Ahmed to the kingdom of Samarcand; Amer to the united thrones of Indija and Firghana; and Mahmood to those of Kundiz and Buduchshan. Eunus, king of Mogulstan, gave to each of those four kings one of his daughters in marriage, excepting to Ali. Amer, by Catlick Negar, the daughter of Eunus, had a son, whom he named Baber, born in the year eight hundred and eighty-eight. The relation between Timur § and Baber, is this: Sultan Abu Seid, the grandfather of Baber, was the son of Mahommed, the son of Miran Shaw, and grandson of Timur, lord of ages.

Baber's uncommon genius.

Baber, when as yet but twelve years old, discovered a capacity so uncommon at that age, that his father Amer gave him the kingdom of Indija; and,

* His titles at length were, Zehir ul Dien Mahommed Baber.

† One of the provinces of Persia.

‡ It is to be observed, that Ferishta prefixed the title of Mirza Sultan, which signifies Prince, to every one of the eleven sons of Abu Seid, on account of their being descended from Timur Bec, in the fourth degree.

§ Tamerlane.

and, when Amer, upon Monday the fourth of Ramzan, in the eight hundred and ninety-ninth of the Higera, fell, by an accident, from the roof of a pigeon-house, and was killed, Baber was advanced to the throne, and assumed the title of protector of the faith. A.D. 1525. Hig. 932. Succeeds his father.

Ahmed and Mahmood, the uncles of Baber, led their armies against him, to be revenged of him, in his nonage, for the war of his father against them, hoping by the advantage which the accession of a child might afford, to appropriate his kingdoms to themselves. But an accident defeated their ambitious designs. After besieging him in the capital of Indija, there happened so great a mortality among their troops and cavalry, that they were glad to enter into treaty, and to raise the siege. Ahmed died upon his way to Samarcand*. Besieged by Ahmed, &c.

The kings of Cashgar and Chutan, both of the family of Timur, soon after drew a great army towards the borders of Orgund, and made war upon Baber; but he obliged them to retreat. He, at this time, appointed Hassen governor of Indija, who was not faithful to his trust. He rebelled in the year nine hundred, but Baber marched against him, and obliged him to fly towards Samarcand. In the same year, Ibrahim Sarid, the governor of Ashira, rebelled, and read the chutba in the name of Beisinker, the son of Ahmed, who had succeeded to the throne of Samarcand. Baber marched against him, and besieged him in Ashira, which he reduced in the space of forty days; Reduces some rebellious governors.

* The city of Samarcand is situated in latitude 41° 20, and in longitude 95. It is the chief town of Maver-ul-nere, or Transoxiana. It is much fallen off from its ancient splendor, though it is still a considerable and populous city. A good trade is driven on there, in several manufactures, especially silk paper, peculiar to that town.

A. D. 1495. Hig. 901. days; and the rebel was obliged to come forth with a sword and coffin before him. Baber, however, forgave him, and marched to Chojind, and from thence to Sharuchia, to meet his uncle Mahmood, with whom he was now reconciled. He remained with Mahmood a few days, and then returned to Indija.

Besieges Artaba to no purpose. Baisinker, king of Samarcand, having possessed himself of Artaba, which was a long time the property of Amer, the father of Baber; that prince resolved to retake the place, and marched accordingly with his army against it the very next season. Zulnoon, who held it on the part of the king of Samarcand, made a resolute defence, till the approach of winter obliged Baber to raise the siege, and return to Indija.

Marches towards Samarcand. Baber, in the year following, drew his army towards Samarcand, being in alliance with Ali, the brother of Baisinker, and king of Bochara; for the former endeavoured to recover from the latter the king of Samarcand. The confederate kings not being able to reduce Samarcand that year, they returned home for the winter season, and made great preparations for another campaign. Both the kings, accordingly, in the year nine hundred and two, in the beginning of the spring, took the route of Samarcand. Sultan Ali reached Samarcand first, and Baisinker advanced without the city, and encamped before him; but, upon Baber's arrival, he retreated within his walls in the night. Eulu Chaja, who was going the rounds of Baber's camp, discovered the retreat of Baisinker, and falling upon his rear, put a great number to the sword. Baber laid siege to a fort called Ashira, at a small distance from the city, and took it. The confederates, after this success, attacked Samarcand, which was defended with great bravery, till winter obliged them

them to raise the siege, and retire to quarters till the ensuing season. A.D. 1496. Hig. 902.

Aliu turned to Bochara, and Baber to a place called Chajadidar. Takes that city. Shubiani, king of the Usbecs of Turkestan, upon his march from his own dominions to join the king of Samarcand, came before Baber, but he thought proper to make the best of his way for Samarcand. Shubiani and Baisinker quarrelled soon after, and the former returned to his own country. This circumstance so much distressed Baisinker, that, with a small retinue, he went in person to beg the assistance of Chusero, king of Kunduz, also of the posterity of Timur, while Baber, seizing this opportunity, hastened to Samarcand, and in the year nine hundred and three, entered the city without opposition, and mounted the throne, being acknowledged by the greatest part of the omrahs.

But as Baber had taken the place by capitulation, and forbade all manner of plunder, the army, to whom he was greatly in arrears, and who served him only for the hopes of booty, began to disperse. The moguls, who were commanded Deserted by his army. by one Ibrahim, went off in a body, and were followed by several other chiefs, with their whole dependents, to Achsi, where Jehangire, the brother of Baber, commanded. Jehangire, by the aid of the deserters, and that of a prince called Ozin Hassen, declared himself king of Indija. He wrote, by way of sneer to his brother, that as Baber had subdued the kingdom of Samarcand, he begged to be indulged with that of Indija. Baber having received this message, gave way to his passion, and, in blaming the perfidy of those chiefs who had deserted him, imprudently threw some reflections upon those who remained. The omrahs resented this behaviour, by abandoning him, and joining his brother. Baber, in the utmost

A.D. 1496. Hig. 902. most distress, sent Eulu Chaja to endeavour to reconcile the omrahs to him again, but they sent a party to way-lay the ambassador, and cut him to pieces.

The omrahs Ali and Morlana, in the mean time, threw a garrison into the fort of Indija, and continued to hold it out for Baber. The faithful omrahs sent advice to Baber of their situation; but unfortunately, at this time, he was taken extremely ill, that, not able to swallow any thing, he barely existed by having moistened cotton applied to his lips. When he had recovered his health, and found the pressing situation of his affairs in Indija, he determined to run the risque of losing Samarcand, rather than his paternal dominions, and accordingly directed his march homewards. But Ali Doost, and his friends in Indija, having heard that Baber was certainly dead, had capitulated, and given up the place to Jehangire. This traitor assassinated Morlana, and, mounting the throne, read the chutba in his own name.

His misfortunes.

Samarcand revolts.

This disagreeable intelligence, and other advices, that the Samarcandians had revolted, were, at once, brought to Baber, upon his march, which threw him into the utmost distress, having now lost both kingdoms. He sent, as his last resource, Amir Casim to Tashcund, to entreat the assistance of his uncle Mahmood. That monarch hastened to Jilka, where he and Baber met; but an emissary, at the same time, came to Mahmood, from Jehangire, who managed matters so well, that Mahmood left his two nephews to settle their own differences, and returned to Tashcund. This unexpected blow had such an effect upon the affairs of Baber, that they now appeared so desperate, that of all his army, in a few days only, forty horsemen remained with him to conquer two kingdoms. In this forlorn situation he re-

treated to Chojind. He wrote from thence to Mahommed Hussein, at Artaba, acquainting him, that the place in which he was then could not protect him from the fury of his enemies; he therefore earnestly solicited him to permit him to pass the winter at Bishaer. Hussein consented to this request; and Baber accordingly took up his quarters there. He began to recruit a new army, writing to all the friends he could think of to join him. A.D. 1498. Hig. 904.

After a few were gathered round his standard, he considered that his future fortune depended entirely upon the reputation of his arms, and resolved to employ them against his enemies. He, therefore, hastened to Barnilack, where he took some forts by assault, and some by stratagem. But these petty exploits were of little service to him, for his affairs bore still a very ruinous aspect, which threw him into great perplexity. He received, in the mean time, agreeable tidings from Ali Doost, begging his forgiveness, and informing him that he was in possession of the garrison of Marinan, and if Baber should come to take possession of it, he would number himself among his slaves. Baber did not hesitate to accept this offer, and arriving at the place, he met Ali Doost at the gate, who put him into possession of the fort, and supplied his finances. Baber immediately sent Amer Cassim towards the mountains of Indija, and Ibrahim Sara and Viss Laghiri towards Achsi, to endeavour to bring over friends to his party. This measure had the desired effect, for the mountaineers of Indija were gained to the interest of Baber, while Ibrahim Sara and Viss Laghiri settled matters with the governor of the fort of Baab, and two or three more, who declared for Baber. The nego- He takes the field with a few. His affairs begin to wear a favourable aspect.

tiations

A. D. 1498. Hig. 904. tiations of that prince succeeded, at the same time, at the court of his uncle Mahmood, of Bochara, who marched to join him.

Jehangire besieges him in Marinan. Jehangire, having received intelligence of the proceedings at Marinan, and of the efforts of Baber to raise an army, marched with his forces towards that place, and sat down before it. He detached, at the same time, part of his army towards Achsi, who falling in with Mahmood, were defeated with great slaughter. When Jehangire received these advices, he was struck with embarrassment, and retreated to Indija. But Nasirbeg, the son-in-law of Ozin Hassen, who had now the government of that city, seeing the favourable aspect of Baber's affairs, by the junction of Mahmood, and several parties of Usbecks, determined not to admit Jehangire, and immediately sent a messenger to hasten Baber to take possession of the place. This check ruined the affairs of Jehangire, for immediately his army began to disperse, while he himself took the way to Ost, and Ozin Hassen that of Achsi.

Baber recovers his dominions. Baber, by this time, advanced to Indija, and took possession of that city, conferring honours upon his friends; and thus the capital of Firghana was, in the year nine hundred and four, restored to its former administration. Upon the fourth day after the arrival of Baber, he set out for Achsi, where Ozin Hassen capitulated, and was permitted to retire to Hissaar, Casim Ogib being appointed governor of the place. The king returned to Indija, with the greatest part of Ozin Hassen's troops, who inlisted themselves under his victorious banners. But the forces of Hassen having, upon a former occasion, plundered several persons, then in the king's army, of their effects, a complaint was made to Baber, and orders were

issued

issued to restore the plunder to the proper owners. The moguls, unwilling to comply with this order, mounted their horses, and, to a man, set out for Orgund, where they joined Jehangire and Ahmed Timbol, by which they were again in a condition to march against Indija. The king sent a general to oppose them, who was defeated with great slaughter, many of the king's principal omrahs being slain, and several taken prisoners. A. D. 1499. Hig. 905.

The enemy advanced with all expedition, and laid siege to Indija for the space of thirty days; but as they could effect nothing against it, they marched towards Ouse. The king having recruited his army, marched in the year nine hundred and five, towards Ouse, while the enemy, by another road, made a push towards Indija. Baber, however, trusting to his friends in that city, and the strength of the place, marched to Badwerd, a strong fort in the possession of Chilili, brother to Ahmed Timbol. Chilili defended the place with great resolution, but at length was forced to a capitulation, by the terms of which he was exchanged for the king's friends, who had fallen into the enemy's hands. Indija besieged.

Ahmed Timbol, in the mean time, made an attempt to scale the walls of Indija in the night, but was repulsed with great loss. Baber, by this time, returning to that place, took a strong post by the banks of the river. He encamped before the enemy for the space of forty days, and then determined to attack their camp, though with great disadvantage. After an obstinate and bloody resistance, the rebels were driven out of their trenches, and dispersed. The king, after the victory, entered the city in triumph. Baber was informed in Indija, that six thousand horse from Mahmood, king of Bochara, whose policy it was to weaken both parties, had come to the assistance The enemy are overthrown by Baber.

A.D. 1499. Hig. 905.

assistance of Jehangire, and had sat down before Cashan. The king, though it was now the middle of winter, in severe frost and snow, marched that way, upon which the allies retreated to their own country. Timbol, who was upon his march to join the rebels, fell in accidentally with the king, in a situation where he could not escape, had not the night favoured his retreat; by which means he went off with little loss. The king pursued him under the walls of Bishare, and encamped in sight.

A peace between Baber and his brother Jehangire.

Upon the fourth day, Ali Doost and Cumber Ali, prevailed upon the king to make proposals of accommodation. The terms were immediately agreed upon; that Jehangire should keep possession of all the country between the river Chajand and Achsi; and that the kingdom of Indija, and the districts of Orgund, should remain to Baber; that if the latter should ever recover the kingdom of Sarmacand, he should give up Indija to Jehangire. After these terms of pacification were solemnly ratified by mutual oaths, the brothers had an interview, and the prisoners upon both sides were set at liberty. The king returned to Indija, where Ali Doost, who was a man of great wealth and power, had began to exert unbounded authority. He banished some and imprisoned others, without the king's permission; while his son, Mahommed, took a princely state upon himself. The king, upon account of his great influence, and the numerous enemies which environed his dominions, was constrained to dissemble his resentment.

In the mean time, Mazidir, an omrah of Ali, who, by the removal of his brother Baisinker, reigned in Samarcand, apprehensive of danger from his master, joined Bijan Mirza the son of Mahmood, and carried him against Samarcand.

inviting him to the conquest of that kingdom. Baber embraced the proposal, and drew his army towards Samarcand. Mazidlir having joined Baber upon his march, it was resolved in council to send a person to sound Chaja Eiah, who had almost the whole power of Samarcand in his hands. He returned them for answer, that they might march towards the city, and whatever was found then most adviseable should be done. In the mean time, Dildai, one of Timur's posterity, who commanded a tribe in Baber's camp, left his post without any apparent reason, fled to Samarcand, and acquainted the enemy of the correspondence with Chaja Eiah, which disconcerted their measures. His veteran troops crowded to the King's standard, making complaints against Ali Doost. Baber, therefore, determined to dismiss him from his presence, so that he and his son went over to Ahmed Timbul, but in a few days he died.

A.D. 1499. Hig. 905.

Baber's expedition to Samarcand.

At this time Shubiani, king of the Usbecks, had taken Bochara, and was upon full march to conquer Samarcand, which Ali was advised to relinquish to him. Baber, upon hearing this news, went to Kish, and from thence to Hissar, where Masidlir, and the omrahs of Samarcand, despairing of taking that city, left him, and went to Chusero, king of Kunduz. Baber, after this desertion, was obliged to take the way to Sirtack, over rocks, stones, and rugged paths, by which his army suffered exceedingly, having lost most part of his camels and horses. This circumstance dispirited his troops to such a degree, that they all deserted him by the time he reached Barnilack, except two hundred and forty men.

Baber deserted by his whole army, except two hundred and forty men.

Any man but Baber would have now despaired of success in his designs; but though he had left

A.D. 1499. Hig. 905.

His daring attempt upon Samarcand.

a kingdom to which he might have still returned, his ambition prompted him to run the risque of a young adventurer for another. He accordingly marched directly for Samarcand, with this small retinue, with an intention to get into that city without being discovered. His hopes were, that he could raise a faction among his friends, while yet the city was in disorder. He entered Samarcand in the dusk of the evening, and went to Eurit Chan's house; but in a few minutes his arrival was whispered about, and the whole city began to be in an uproar. Baber, as his scheme was not ripe for execution, thought it high time to make his escape, which he did accordingly without any loss,

Obliged to retreat.

After he had got clear of the city, he looked back and repented of his precipitate flight. He immediately stopped in a grove, where, being wearied with the fatigue of the day, he laid himself down upon the ground to sleep, as did the greatest part of his retinue. In about an hour he awaked from a dream, in which he imagined he saw Abdalla, a dirvesh of great repute, coming towards his house. He thought that he invited the dirvesh to sit down, upon which his steward spread a table-cloth before him, at which the dirvesh seemed greatly offended*, and rose to go away. The king begged he would excuse him, as the offence was committed by a servant. The dirvesh, upon this, took him by the arm, and held him up towards the sky; upon which he awoke, and calling up his attendants, related his dream, and determined to make an attempt immediately upon Samarcand.

His dream.

Baber's

* The Orientals never eat abroad without a formal invitation; besides, these independent dirveshes live upon rice and water, and will not condescend to be entertained by princes.

Baber's small party having mounted their horses, returned and reached the bridge about midnight. He detached eighty of his men before to a low part of the wall, near the Lover's Cave, which they scaled by the help of a hook-rope, and coming round to the gate and falling upon the guard commanded by Casiter Chan, killed and dispersed them. They immediately set open the gate, and admitted the king and his small party. The city was alarmed; but the party proclaiming the name of Baber as they passed through the streets, all who were his friends flocked to him, while his enemies, not knowing his strength, ran distracted from place to place to join their leaders. In a short time the alarm reached the house of Chaja Eiah, where seven thousand Usbecks were quartered. They rushed out and joined Shubiani their king, who, with eight thousand more of his nation, lay in the citadel of Didar. Shubiani, with one hundred and fifty men, commanding the rest to wait for orders, set out for the iron gate, but seeing he could do nothing with that handful, he retreated. Baber, in the mean time, attended by some thousands, who rent the sky with acclamations, followed him so close, that Shubiani could not, either by words or example, make one of the Usbecks stand his ground. He therefore followed them out of the opposite gate, and fled towards Bochara, and Samarcand immediately submitted to Baber.

A.D. 1499. Hig. 905.

Returns to Samarcand, which he surprizes.

This action, if we consider the strength of the place, the troops it contained, the alarm that had been spread in the evening, the small number who attempted it, the uncertainty of being joined by the citizens, and many other difficulties, we must esteem it equal to the boldest enterprize

A.D. 1500. Hig. 906. in history. The authors who relate it, very justly give it the preference to any of the exploits of Timur. Musidler took this opportunity of wresting the forts of Kirshi and Heraz from the Usbecks; while Hassen Mirza, from Muracuss, came and took Kole. Baber sent ambassadors to Hassen Mirza, and other neighbouring princes, his relations, to request their alliance, to drive Shubiani quite out of Maver ul Nere. They either paid no regard to Baber's embassy, or sent such pitiful supplies as served no purpose. Shubiani, by this means, recovered strength during the winter, taking Karacole, and other districts.

Baber defeated by Shubiani. Baber, in the month of Shawal, nine hundred and six, collected his whole force, and marched out of Samarcand, to engage Shubiani. He came up with him in the environs of Caridzin, and fought him. Baber exhibited, upon this occasion, all the good qualities of the general and brave soldier, but he was deserted by his allies, and soon after by his own troops. Only fifteen brave friends remained at last by his side, with whom, seeing it in vain to contend any longer with fortune, he made good his retreat to Samarcand. He lost in this action his principal omrahs, and other chiefs of note. Shubiani advanced, and laid siege to the city; the king taking up his quarters at the college of Ali Beg, as being the most central place for sending orders, or assistance. The siege was continued with great obstinacy for many days, numbers being killed on both sides; during which time, Kutch Beg, Loma, and Kelnizer, gave extraordinary examples of bravery. Four months had now passed in attacking and repulsing, when a dreadful famine began to rage in the city. The inhabitants ate their horses, and even the most unclean animals, while those who could

could not procure other provisions, subsisted upon the bark of trees. A.D. 1501. Hig. 907.

Though the king, at the commencement of the siege, had sent ambassadors to the kings of Chorassun, Kundaz, Bockolan, and Mogulistan, all princes of the house of Timur, for succours, he received no hopes of their aid. He was, therefore, under the cruel necessity of abandoning his capital and kingdom, with about one hundred friends, in a dark night, in the beginning of the year nine hundred and seven. He escaped to Tashcund, whither his brother, Jehangire, came to pay him his respects. His uncle, Mahmood, comforted him in his distress, entertained him in a princely manner, and gave him the city of Artaba to reside in during the winter.

Forced to quit the city with one hundred men.

But in the beginning of the spring, he was again attacked by Shubiani, who, not being able to effect any thing against the city, plundered the country, and retreated to Samarcand. In this manner, Baber, unable to raise his head from his misfortunes, lived for some time, Ahmed Timbol having taken possession of the kingdom of Indija, which the king had resigned to his brother Jehangire, upon his taking Samarcand. Mahmood, and his brother Ahmed, were at length prevailed upon to support their nephew Baber in an attempt to recover the kingdom of Indija from Ahmed Timbol. When the confederates had reached the boundaries of Ferghana, Timbol marched out to oppose them. It was agreed, that Baber, with a small detachment of Moguls, should march towards Osh, to raise a party there, whilst his uncles opposed Timbol. Baber accordingly took Osh, and was joined by some of the inhabitants of Orgun and Marinan, who expelled the garrisons of Timbol. The king immediately marched towards Indija; and Timbol

Besieged at Artaba.

 decamped

A.D. 1502. Hig. 908.

decamped from before the confederate princes, and hastened back to cover Indija.

Defeated by Timbol.

Timbol happened, by accident, to fall in with Baber's camp, when the troops were out foraging, and defeated him. The King escaped, wounded, to Osh, while Timbol threw himself into Indija, and prepared for a defence. The next day, the allied army of Mahmood and Ahmed appeared in sight, and sat down before the place, where they were joined soon after by Baber. Some time after, the inhabitants of Achsi called the king, and put him in possession of that place; but the allied princes, not being able to reduce Indija, raised the siege.

Totally defeated by Shubiani.

In the mean time, Shubiani, king of the Usbecks, fearing the success of Baber, advanced from Samarcand with a very great army, towards Achsi. Baber immediately joined his allies, and they prepared to receive him. But in this action, which was very obstinate and bloody, the fortune of Shubiani prevailed, and both the uncles of Baber were taken prisoners. The king escaped to Mogulistan, and the kingdom of Tashcund fell into the hands of Shubiani, which greatly augmented his power. Shubiani, some time after, dismissed the two brothers, but Mahmood retired, and fell into a deep melancholy. When one of his friends told him that Shubiani had poisoned him, and begged to supply him with some famous theriac of Chitta, as a powerful preventive of the effects of poisons; the prince replied, "Yes! Shubiani has poisoned me, in- "deed! he has taken my kingdom, which is not "in the power of your theriac to restore."

He asks advice of Backer.

Baber left Mogulistan, and came to Shudma, and from thence proceeded to Turmuz, in the neighbourhood of Balich, where Backer, prince of that place, who was uneasy at the great power of

of the Usbecks, glad of Baber's alliance, who still had the command of an army, received him with great kindness and respect, and gave him large presents. Baber said to him, upon this occasion, that being a long time the football of fortune, and, like a piece of wood on a chess-board, moved from place to place, vagrant as the moon in the sky, and restless as the stone upon the beach, he would therefore be glad of his friendly advice, as he had been so unsuccessful in his own resolves. Backer replied, that, however incapable he was to advise him, he would not withhold his opinion, which was, that, as Shubiani was now in full possession of Baber's kingdom, and many others, which rendered him extremely powerful, it would be more adviseable for him to pursue his fortune elsewhere, particularly in Cabulistan, which was now in a state of anarchy. A.D. 1502. Hig. 908.

The king followed this advice, and in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Cabul*. Passing, in his way, through the dominions of Chusero, king of Kunduz, he was entertained by him with great hospitality, for which, we are sorry to relate, our hero made a very bad return. During the time that Baber resided there, he stirred up a faction in Chusero's court, and gained over seven thousand of his troops to his own interest. This plot being discovered, Chusero, with a few servants, was obliged to abandon his capital and fly, leaving his troops, his treasure, and every thing in the possession of Baber. Baber did not fail to avail himself

Baber's ingratitude to Chusero.

* The city of Cabul is the capital of the province of Cabulistan in the mountains between Persia and India. It is situated in 34 degrees of latitude, and is one of the finest towns in that part of Asia. Cabul is the depository and staple of the commodities which pass from India into Persia and Great Bucharia, and is consequently rich and populous. It is at present ubject to Ahmed Abdalla.

A. D. 1504. Hig. 910. himself of these advantages. He marched immediately towards Cabul, which had been in possession of Rysac, the son of Ali, Baber's uncle, who was then in his minority. One Zicca, exerting too much authority in the country at that time, disgusted the other omrahs, who assassinated him in the month of Zihidge. This circumtance occasioned great convulsions in the kingdom; for Mokîm, the son of Amir Zulnôn, prince of Garrimsere, took advantage of the intestine divisions of the Cabulians, and invaded them, forcing Rysac to take shelter among the Afghâns: he himself took possession of that country, and married the sister of the former prince.

Baber seizes upon Cabulistan.

Affairs being in this situation, Baber arrived upon the borders of Cabul, and driving Mokîm out of the field, forced him to take refuge in the capital, which Baber besieged and took. He then applied himself to regulate and improve that country, as dominions belonging to himself. In the year nine hundred and eleven, Cabulistan was thrown into great consternation by dreadful earthquakes, which laid most of the cities in ruins. Baber endeavoured to alleviate this public calamity in such a manner, by his unwearied care and extensive benevolence, that he gained the love and fidelity of all his new subjects. The restless genius of Baber could not lie quiet. His aspiring disposition began to extend his views to conquest. He accordingly led an army against the Argôns of Kandahar, and deprived them of the strong fort of Killât, establishing an alliance with Buddiulzemân, a prince of the race of Timur, in possession of Herât. He marched in the same year to Kussluckât, which he brought into subjection, and gave the government of Ghizni, which, from a great empire, was diminished into an inconsiderable province, to his brother Jehangire.

In

In the year nine hundred and twelve, Baber marched towards Chorassân to join Hussein Mirza, who, ashamed of his former behaviour, and irritated by fresh injuries from Shubiani, now proposed to Baber that they should join in alliance against him. But when Baber had reached Nîmrosa, he heard of Hussein's death. He proceeded, however, to Chorassan, and endeavoured to stir up the princes and omrahs against the Usbecks. He was not able to effect his purpose, and he therefore returned, by the way of Herât, towards Cabul. The snows were, at that time, very deep, and prevented his passage over the hills, which obliged him to canton his troops in Hazara. A.D. 1506. Hig. 912. Marches to Chorassan.

When Baber was thus constrained to remain at Hazara, Hussein Gurgan, Birlass, and other mogul omrahs, joining with Mirza his cousin, raised him to the throne of Cabul, by promoting false intelligence of the king's death. But when the news of his return reached the people, they rebelled against the new government, and as soon as the season permitted his approach, flocked to his standard, put all the garrisons into his hands, except the capital, where Mirza and his adherents sustained a short siege, and then capitulated. The principal persons concerned in the revolt were expelled the country. About this time Nasir, the Sultan's youngest brother, who held the government of Buduchshan, being defeated by one of the generals of Shubiani, took refuge at Cabul, and as Jehangire killed himself by hard drinking, his government of Ghizni was now conferred upon Nasir. Disturbances in Cabul. Quelled.

In the year nine hundred and thirteen, Baber marched against the Afghans of Ghalingi, who infested his country, and took from them one hundred thousand sheep, and some thousands of Baber invited to Kandahar.

A.D. 1507. Hig. 913. other cattle, and returned. The omrahs of the house of Argôn, being greatly oppressed by the Usbecks, wrote to Baber, at this time, that if he would march that way, they would put him in possession of Kandahar*. The Sultan did not hesitate to comply with their request. He immediately set out, and, as he was passing Kilat, Mirza begged the favour of being admitted into his presence, and, receiving his pardon, accompanied him. When he had reached the borders of Kandahar, he wrote to Shaw Beg and Mokim, that he was so far upon his way, according to their desire, and that, therefore, he expected to see them in his camp. Since the time of their writing to Baber, some alterations in their politics had made them repent of the application they had made, so that instead of receiving the king in a friendly manner, they prepared for war, and desired he would return home. But Baber determined not to suffer such an indignity with impunity. He marched forward, and engaged them at the village of Gillishack, near the city of Kandahar, defeated them with great slaughter, and cutting off their retreat from the city, Shaw Beg fled to Saul, and Mokim towards Dawir. Baber immediately laid siege to the city, and took it, with all the wealth of the family of Zulnon, which he divided, by weight, amongst his officers and troops, according to their respective stations. He left Nasir, his brother, in the government of Kandahar and Dawir, and then returned in triumph to Cabul.

The Usbecks invade Kandahar. Mokim having, this very year, complained to Shubiani, the Usbeck, prevailed upon him to engage

* Kandahar is the capital of a small province near Cabulistan. It was alternately possessed by the Moguls and Persians, till it was finally ceded to Nadir Shaw, in 1739.

gage in his behalf, and to march towards Kandahar. Nasir, upon receiving this intelligence, shut himself up in the town, and sent expresses to his brother for assistance. Baber wrote him to defend the place as long as he could, but if he should be driven to great distress, to capitulate, and come to him at Cabul; for that, at the time he was in no condition to dispute the field with Shubiani, whose forces and finances were greatly superior; besides, that a defeat might ruin him for ever, and overset all the projects he had formed of raising himself a kingdom in Hindostan. Nasir, according to these instructions, after he could hold out no longer with propriety, capitulated, and came to the king at Cabul. Shubiani, after taking the place, gave it back to the sons of Zulnon, and marched with his army towards Chorassan. But no sooner had Shubiani evacuated Kandahar, than the Arguniahs, a wild tribe, made an incursion, and possessed themselves of the place. This was an agreeable piece of news to Baber, as they formed a barrier between him and the Usbecks. A.D. 1508. Hig. 914.

This year, upon the fourth of Zicat, Baber had a son born to him in Cabul, whom he named Humaioon, who afterwards became emperor of Hindostan. The Sultan, in the following year, took the field against the Memind Afghans, and, during his absence, the moguls of Chusero, who had been left to defend Cabul, revolted, and set up again Rysac, the son of Ali, upon the throne. The king was immediately deserted by the greatest part of his army; for hearing of the rebellion in Cabul, they hastened home to protect their families, insomuch that out of upwards of ten thousand horse, which he carried to the field, Baber had now scarce five hundred remaining in his camp. Humaioon born.

Notwith-

A.D. 1509. Hig. 915.

Baber's daring enterprize.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, Baber boldly resolved to advance towards Cabul, with the few trusty friends he had left. Rysac, upon the Sultan's approach, came out of the city with an army ten or twelve thousand strong. The king, with his small troop, advanced towards them, and when he came near, ordered his party to halt.

Kills five omrahs in single combat.

He himself rode close up to the rebel army, and challenged Rysac to single combat; but, as he seemed to decline it, five omrahs, one after another, engaged him, and fell by his hand. The names of the omrahs were, Alli Shubcore, Alli Seistani, Niser the Usbeck, Jacoob, and Usbeck Bahadar. This heroic behaviour struck the rebels with so much admiration and astonishment, that they refused to fight, by which means the usurper was taken. But so great was the king's clemency, that he pardoned him; but soon after, beginning to raise more disturbance, he suffered the just reward of a traitor.

War between Persia and the Usbecks.

The country of Chusero, king of Kunduz, having fallen into the hands of the Usbecks, who took no proper means of keeping it in subjection, a number of independent chiefs sprung up in Buduchshan, of whom the principal was Zeiper. Chan Mirza, upon this, by the advice of his mother, Sha Begum, who traced her genealogy to the great Secunder*, began to entertain hopes, and to take measures to raise himself to that kingdom. Having previously obtained leave of Baber, he this year left Cabul; and, having raised a small army, advanced towards the borders of Buduchshan. But his mother, who came up in the rear, was attacked by a body of Kashgars, and carried off prisoner, while Chan Mirza was defeated, and obliged to give himself up to Zeiper, who kept him under guard. Eusoph Ali, who

* Alexander the Great.

who had been an old servant of Mirza, formed a conspiracy against Zeiper, and assassinated him, and Chan Mirza was raised to the throne by the people. In the year nine hundred and sixteen, Ismaiel Suffavi*, king of Persia, wrote to Shubiani to withdraw his troops from some of the skirts of his dominions, upon which he had begun to encroach, to root up the tree of contention, which produced bitter fruits, and to plant that of friendship, whose blossoms shed the most grateful perfume. Shubiani replied, That it was only for those who were descended from kings to entertain thoughts of empire; that it was true, that Ismaiel, though the son of a Fakier, had raised himself to a kingdom, when there was no lord of seven nations around him, to oppose him; that therefore, it would be now adviseable for him to retire to his former obscurity, and that, for that purpose, he had sent him a staff and a beggar's dish for his inheritance; for that Shubiani only was worthy of possessing the bride of royalty, who durst kiss her through opposing swords. Ismaiel answered, That if empire was an inheritance, by what means was it so often violated, till it fell to his lot? For his own part, he had always considered the right of kings as founded upon power, and that the longest sword was the best title. That, with the latter, he was, at all times, ready to dispute with Shubiani; and that, though he himself had no opinion of contemptuous ostentation, yet in return for Shubiani's present, he had sent him a gridiron and spinning-wheel for his amusement. As for the rest, that Ismaiel would be his own messenger. A.D. 1511. Hig. 917.

Having

* The first of the Persian dynasty called corruptedly in Europe, the Sophis of Persia.

A. D. 1511. Hig. 917.

Shubiani over-thrown and slain.

Having dispatched this message, Ismaiel immediately collected his army, and marching eastward, subdued Chorassan, and advanced to Murve, before Shubiani could make the least opposition. Shubiani not being then prepared to engage Ismaiel in the field, he shut himself up in Murve. But being severely reproached by Ismaiel, he marched out and gave him battle, in which he was defeated. In his flight he had the misfortune to get into a park, with about five hundred princes and principal officers, from whence he could find no outlet. He was attacked there by the king of Persia, and seeing no hope of escape left, he and his followers fought, refusing quarter, till every man of them was laid dead on the field.

Baber marches to recover his dominions.

Chan Mirza immediately dispatched accounts of this important event from Buduchshan to Baber, and went himself to Kunduz; informing the king, that now was the time for recovering his former dominions. Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and seventeen, marched with all expedition towards Hissar, crossing the Amu* with Chan Mirza. But a great army of Usbecks being encamped near that city, the moguls were obliged to retreat to Kunduz. Ismaiel, at this time, sent the Sultana Zada, Baber's sister, who had been taken in Samarcand by Shubiani, and afterwards married by him, with all her effects, to Kunduz; where she gave so favourable an account of the generous behaviour of the Persian, that Baber was induced to hope for his assistance in reinstating him in his hereditary kingdom. He, for this purpose, sent him an ambassador, with proper presents. In the mean time, in order to keep up the spirit of enterprize, he marched

* The Oxus.

marched towards Hissar, where he still found the Usbecks greatly superior in force to him. He therefore declined to attack them, till he should recruit more forces. This being done, he advanced to their encampment, and offered them battle, which they accepted, and Baber obtained a complete victory, to which the bravery of Chan Mirza greatly contributed. A.D. 1511. Hig. 917.

He was, in a few days after, joined by Ahmed, of the Suffavi family, Alli Ostagelo, and Sharock, with a fine body of cavalry on the part of the king of Persia, by which his army amounted to sixty thousand horse. With this force he marched towards Bochara, and, after several successful actions with Abdulla, and Jani Beg, possessed himself of that kingdom. Upon the fifteenth of Regib of the same year, he marched from Bochara to Samarcand, which city surrendered to him the third time, and acknowledged him sovereign. Baber fixed his residence at Samarcand, and appointed Nasir, his brother, to the government of Cabul, giving leave to the troops of Persia to return home. But he had not possessed this throne above nine months, before the Usbecks, who had fled to Turkestan, advanced, under Timur, who had succeeded to Shubiani. Upon receiving these advices, Baber marched to defend Bochara, where he engaged the Usbecks, but being defeated, was obliged to shut himself up within the walls. He was, in the end, forced to abandon the city, and to retreat to Samarcand. Here he was again besieged, and obliged to fly to Shadman.

Takes Bochara, and Samarcand.

About this time, Nigim Sani, of Ispahan, general of the Persian armies, advanced with an intention to possess himself of Balich. Baber, ever watchful to grasp at every thing favourable to the ruling passion of his soul, formed an alliance with him for the recovery of his dominions. Sani having

Makes an alliance with the Persian general.

A. D. 1518. Hig. 924.

having taken the fort of Kirish from the Usbecks, put the garrison, consisting of fifteen thousand, to the sword. He then laid siege to Gudgdewan, in conjunction with the Sultan, whither the princes of the Usbecks advanced against them, from Bochara, with a great army; and fortune being still the adversary of Baber, Nigim Sani, with a great part of his army, was slain, and the mogul prince himself obliged to fly to Shadman, with a few attendants.

A conspiracy against his life.

Nor did the misfortunes of Baber rise from the enemy alone. His attendants conspired against his life, for having blamed some of them for bad behaviour. They rushed, in the night, into his tent, but being alarmed by the noise, he made his escape naked, and reached the fort of Aric before morning, without one attendant; and the conspirators plundered his camp, and dispersed themselves. In this situation of affairs, the king saw no further hope in those northern regions, and therefore set out for Cabul with a small retinue, and upon his arrival appointed Nasir to the government of Ghizni. In the year nine hundred and twenty-four, he marched towards Sawad and Bejoar, possessed by the Afghans of Zehi, who had been infesting his country. Having defeated those mountaineers, and carried some thousands of them into captivity, he gave the government of that country to one of his omrahs.

Meditates the conquest of Hindostan.

When Secunder, the emperor of Hindostan, died, he was succeeded, as we have already related, by Ibrahim the second, in whose reign the Patan chiefs of the imperial family of Lodi became so factious, that they totally broke the power of that empire. Baber reckoned this a good opportunity to establish himself in India, the conquest of which he had long meditated, though he was always embroiled in other affairs.

Baber

Baber, accordingly, in the year nine hundred and twenty-five, marched his army as far as the blue river, one of the branches of the Indus. He subdued all the countries in his way, and crossing the river, advanced to Berah in Punjab, raising heavy contributions for with-holding his troops from plunder. He sent from Berah, one Moulana, with an embassy to the emperor Ibrahim, acquainting him, that as that country had been for many years in the possession of the house of Timur, it was proper he should now relinquish his pretensions to it, and so prevent the war from being carried further into India. At this place Baber received advice of the birth of another son, whom he named Hindal. He appointed Hassen Beg, governor of the conquered countries as far as Chinaab, and marched in person against the Gickers, and besieged the fort of Pirhala, whither Hati their chief had retired. The Gickers were, one day, tempted to take the field, and were defeated by Doost Beg, the Mogul general, while the king in person cut off their retreat to the fort, and obliged them to fly to the mountains. The fort, in which there was a considerable treasure, fell by this means into his hands, which satisfied Baber for this expedition, and he returned to Cabul. A.D. 1518. Hig. 925.

In the latter end of the same year, Baber returned again to Hindostan, with an intention to take Lahore, and in his way chastised some Patans of the tribe of Zehi, who disturbed him in his march. He built a fort at Peshawir, and then advanced to the Indus. He there received intelligence, that the king of Kashgar, or Little Bucharia, was marched into Baduchshan, which obliged him to return, leaving the prince Mahommed, one of the descendants of Timur, with four thousand horse, to support his authority in the country. He had not, however, reached Cabul, before he heard that the king of Kashgar had been His second expedition into Hindostan.

 obliged

A. D. 1519. Hig. 926.

obliged to retreat. Baber, therefore, turned his face towards the Afghans, of the tribe of Chizer Cheil, who began to make depredations upon the kingdom of Cabul in his absence, and severely chastised them for their insolence, spoiled their country, and returned to his capital.

Third expedition into Hindostan.

Baber, in the year nine hundred and twenty-six, marched a third time towards India, chastising the Patans in his way, till he reached Salcot, the inhabitants of which country submitted, and saved their possessions. But the people of Seidpoor, erecting the standard of defence, were, in the end, put all to the sword, their wealth given up to depredation, and their children and wives carried away captive. Baber was here alarmed, by intelligence from Cabul, that obliged him to return, for the Kandaharians had invaded his country. He marched against them, drove them out of the field, and invested their capital.

Returns and besieges Kandahar,

He, in the mean time, received advice of the death of Chan Mirza, in Buduchshan, and appointed his son Humaioon to that government. Shaw Beg, the prince of Kandahar, held out with great bravery against Baber for the space of three years, during which time the blockade lasted. But in the year nine hundred aud twenty-eight, Baber, who was obstinate in his resolution, at length reduced Kandahar, and all the country of Garrumsere, appointing prince Camiran, his son, to the government.

which is taken.

Soon after the surrender of Kandahar, Dowlat Lodi, apprehensive of the emperor Ibrahim, sent a deputation to Baber, at Cabul, begging his protection. Baber, in the year nine hundred and thirty, augmented his army, and advanced within six crores of Lahore, where Par Lodi, Mubarick Lodi, and Bicken Lohani, who were powerful omrahs of Punjab, joined their forces, and

Fourth expedition into Hindostan.

opposed him; but they were defeated with great slaughter. Baber, in person, marched to Lahore, and took it, setting fire to the Bazar, according to a superstitious custom of the Moguls. A.D. 1523. Hig. 930. Lahore taken,

The king remained four days only in Lahore, and then advanced against Debalpoor. He summoned the place to surrender, but as the garrison forced him to risque an assault, in which he was successful, he put them all to the sword. Dowlat Lodi, with his three sons, joined Baber at Debalpoor, and the father was appointed to the government of Jallender, Sultanpoor, and other districts of Punjab, which rendered him very powerful. and Debalpoor.

This Dowlat Lodi was a descendant of the race of that name who heretofore reigned at Delhi. He gave to Baber information, that Ismaiel Selwani, and other Afghans, were collected at Kharah; that it would, therefore, be adviseable to detach a force against them. The Sultan agreed to this proposal, and prepared to send a detachment that way. In the mean time, Delawir, the youngest son of Dowlat, acquainted Baber, with whom he was a great favourite, that his father and brother wanted to divide his troops, to put some plan which they themselves had concerted, in execution. The king, after being convinced of the truth of this information, ordered Dowlat, and his son Ghazi, into confinement. He then crossed the Suttuluz, advanced to Sirhind, and there released the two Lodi's, and gave them estates. But when they had reached Sultanpoor, they deserted the camp, and fled to the hills. The king, upon this, gave to Delawir the title of first of the nobles, and both their estates; but as the father and son's desertion greatly affected Baber's interest in Hindostan, he thought it no ways adviseable to proceed to Delhi this year. He, Dowlat Lodi suspected.

 accordingly

A. D. 1524. Hig. 931. accordingly returned to Lahore, and, having appointed governors to the different countries in his possession in India, set out for Cabul.

During Baber's absence, Dowlat Lodi found means to seize his son Delawir, who had betrayed him, and put him in chains; then marching with a formidable army to Debalpoor, fought Alla, the brother of the emperor Ibrahim, and Baba Kiska, and defeating them, subdued that country. Alla fled to Cabul, and Baba to Lahore. Dowlat sent five thousand Afghans against Salcot, but Mir Aziz, governor of Lahore, immediately marched, with what forces he had, to the assistance of Kokiltash, who held the government of Salcot, and meeting with this detachment of Afghans, defeated them, and returned to Lahore.

Defeats Baber's forces.

Ibrahim attacks im.

Much about this time, an army, on the part of Ibrahim, emperor of Delhi, marched against Dowlat Lodi and his son. Dowlat turned his army to give them battle, and, having met them at Bidwarrah, found means to stir up a faction in his own favour in the imperial camp, insomuch that such as were not disaffected were obliged to fly the camp, and return to Ibrahim.

Alla arrives at Lahore.

Alla, who had lost his government of Debalpoor, and had fled to Cabul, now arrived in Lahore, with orders from Baber to all his officers in those parts, to join him with all their forces, and march towards Delhi, and that he would support them in person as soon as his affairs at home would permit. Dowlat and Ghazi Lodi, hearing of this order, wrote to the Mogul omrahs, that they were glad to find that Baber espoused the cause of Alla, who was the very person they themselves would choose to raise to the throne of Delhi; that if they would, therefore, send him to them, they would undertake to place him upon the musnud.

The

The Mogul chiefs, having first obtained a grant for Baber, of all the countries to the north-west of the Indus, permitted Alla to join the Lodi's himself, without complying further with their master's orders. When accordingly Alla arrived in their camp, Dowlat and his son supplied him with the greatest part of their force, with which he marched towards Delhi, and invested it, as before related, with forty thousand horse. In the mean time, the emperor Ibrahim advanced against his brother from Agra, and was surprized, in the night, when he had reached near the city; but, by the irregular behaviour of Alla's army, who, in the morning, dispersed themselves to plunder, they were fallen upon by Ibrahim, and defeated in their turn, which obliged Alla to retreat, in great distress, to Punjaab. When Baber heard of the defeat of Alla, he awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury, which he had indulged for some time in Cabul, and, in the beginning of the spring, of the year nine hundred and thirty-two, marched the fifth time towards Hindostan. He was joined by his son Humaioon, with a good force, from Buduchshan, and Chaja Callan, with the troops from Ghizni. He took the route of Lahore, and in the way used to hunt rhinoceroses, with which that country abounded, and so had an opportunity of putting the personal bravery of most of his chiefs to trial, as that was a dangerous and warlike exercise. Many of those animals were killed, and some taken alive in toils.

A.D. 1525. Hig. 932.

Besieges Delhi.

Over-thrown.

Upon the first of the first Ribbi, Baber crossed the Indus, and upon the banks of that river mustered his army, which consisted of only ten thousand chosen horse. Crossing then that branch of the Indus, which is called Behat, he advanced to Salcot, where Alla met him, and likewise Ali,

Baber crosses the Indus.

 governor

A. D. 1525. Hig. 932. governor of Cullanore, and Hassen, the collector of the revenues in those provinces. Dowlat Lodi and his son Ghazi, who reckoned themselves publicly in the service of Alla, now lay upon the banks of the Ravi, near Lahore, with an army of forty thousand men; but when Baber advanced towards them, they fled; Dowlat to the fort of Milwit, and Ghazi to the skirts of the hills. Baber invested Milwit, and Dowlat, after a few days, capitulated. It seems, that some days before, he put on two swords, and boasted what he would do to Baber. Baber now ordered those two swords to be hung round his neck, and in that manner Dowlat was brought to his presence; but notwithstanding his behaviour, the king forgave all his crimes, and took him into favour. When the gates of the fort were opened, the troops pressed in, in an irregular manner, and began to plunder. Baber, upon this, mounted his horse, and entering, was under the necessity of using violence to prevent their outrages. He killed, upon this occasion, a principal officer of his son Humaioon's retinue, with an arrow, for which he was extremely grieved, as it happened by mistake. The king, by this means, saved the honour of Dowlat's family, who were all in the place, and preserved a noble library which he had collected, Dowlat being a poet and a man of learning. Baber marched from thence the next day, and pursued Ghazi, when Delawir, the son of Dowlat, who had been dignified with a title, found means to escape to him, and was honourably received. A Mogul chief, who was detached in front, having fallen in with Ghazi, defeated him, and pursued him so close that he was obliged to fly to the emperor Ibrahim at Delhi. The elder Dowlat died upon this march.

Baber

Baber having, in several actions, perceived the inferiority of the Indian troops to his own, determined to delay no longer his final attempt upon the empire. He accordingly marched towards Delhi, having some letters of encouragement, at the same time, from a few of the malcontents at the court of Ibrahim. When he had reached the banks of the Giger, he heard that the governor of Firosa was waiting to oppose him in front, with the troops of those parts. Baber, therefore, sent his son Humaioon, with some of his most experienced officers, to drive the governor from his post, which they effected, and returned victorious to the army. As this was the first battle in which prince Humaioon commanded, his father was greatly rejoiced, and gave him the countries of Firosa and Jallender in Jagier. Two days after, Meian, a chief of the party of Ibrahim, appeared in sight, and desired to join Baber's colours, with three thousand Patan horse, and was accordingly entertained in his service.

A.D. 1525. Hig. 932.

Marches towards Delhi.

Baber having arrived within two stages of Shawabad, received intelligence that Ibrahim, with a great army, had marched out of Delhi to oppose him, and that Daood and Hatim formed his vanguard with twenty-seven thousand horse. The sultan immediately detached Timur, and other nobles, with all the troops of the left wing, and the squadrons of Juneid Birlass, and Hassen Birlass, against this advanced post. They accordingly fell in with them the next morning at sun-rise, and after an obstinate conflict, put Daood and Hatim to flight, but the latter fell in the pursuit. The victors took seven elephants, and a great number of prisoners, with whom they returned to Baber; but he, we are sorry to relate such barbarity, put them to death, by way of striking terror into his enemies.

Arrives at Shawabad,

Baber advancing to the field of battle, encamped

A.D. 1525. Hig. 932.

Preparations for a general engagement.

there six days, ordering chains to be made to link the carriage of his guns together, to prevent the horse breaking through them. The imperial army under Ibrahim, by this time, consisted of one hundred thousand horse, and a thousand elephants; that of Baber, of thirteen thousand only. When Ibrahim had advanced near, Baber ordered five thousand horse to attack the Indian camp in the night; but finding the enemy upon their guard, this detachment returned without attempting any thing.

This retreat hastened Ibrahim to action, and accordingly he marched next morning to Pannipput. Baber, at the same time, advanced within twelve miles of Ibrahim's encampment. Upon the day after, being the seventh of Rigib, the two armies came in sight of each other. Baber divided his troops into two lines, and four grand divisions, with a body of reserve in the rear of each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front. The first division on the right was commanded by Prince Humaioon. The first on the left was under the orders of the king's cousin Mahommed. The second on the right, towards the centre, was commanded by Timur. The second to the left, towards the centre, by the noble Chalifa. Chusero, and other omrahs, was appointed to command the light horse, or herawils, in the front. Aziz and Tirrah, in the rear of the right; and Ceri and Willi Kizil, in the rear of the left. Besides these, there was a reserve in the rear of both lines; that on the right commanded by Casim, and that on the left by Ali. The king himself took his post in the centre of the first line, after having personally given orders to his generals.

The battle.

The emperor Ibrahim, ignorant of the art of war, observed no regular order of battle, but drew up his forces in one great line or column of

of unequal depth, and ordered them to charge the Mogul army, vainly imagining that he could bear them down with numbers. But he found himself soon fatally deceived. So formidable were the Moguls to the Patans, from their known courage and steady order, that the emperor's unwieldy column began to break and turn thin before they came up to the charge, which was directed at the centre of the Mogul army. Those who advanced were repulsed with great bravery, but when they sought to retreat, they found themselves surrounded; for the two bodies of reserve, in the rear of the Mogul line, had wheeled round their flanks, and meeting in the centre, fell upon the rear of those who had advanced to the charge, by which means the Patans were almost all cut to pieces. The reserve having performed this service, retired to their post in the rear, and the Mogul lines advanced, sustaining various irregular charges from the Indian army, whom they repulsed with great slaughter. A.D. 1525 Hig. 932.

Ibrahim, at last roused with shame and indignation, advanced in person, followed by the flower of his army, and gave such a violent shock to the Mogul line, as threw it into disorder. Nothing now but personal bravery was left to decide the day; but in this, and the compact form in which the Moguls whole force was wedged, they were still superior to the Indians. Five thousand fell with Ibrahim in one small spot of ground. The Patan army, when their king was slain, recoiled like surges from a rocky shore, and the torrent of flight rolled towards the banks of the Jumna, dyeing the course of that river with blood; for so far did Baber continue the pursuit; but being wearied with slaughter, he gave hope to fear, and respite to death. Ibrahim defeated and slain.

According to the most moderate accounts there were

A.D. 1525. Hig. 932.

were sixteen thousand Patans killed in this action, though most authors say fifty thousand. Of the loss of Baber we have no information; conquerors having it always in their power to conceal the number of their slain. We may date from this battle, the fall of the Patan empire, though that race afterwards made many efforts, and recovered it, for a few years, as we shall see in the life of Humaioon.

Baber enters Delhi, and assumes the empire.

Baber did not fail to make the best use of his victory. He immediately after the battle detached the Prince Humaioon, and three of his principal omrahs, to Agra, before they could have time to recover from their consternation, or to remove their wealth. He also sent his cousin Mahommed, and three other chiefs, to Delhi, to take possession of that capital, while he himself came up in the rear, and, on the twelfth of Rigib, entered the city. The chutba was read in his name, by Zein the metropolitan of Delhi; and, after having surveyed the city, and visited the tombs of the saints and heroes, he set out for Agra, where he arrived the twenty-fifth of the same month, and immediately invested the fort, which was in possession of the former government, garrisoned by the troops of the Raja of Gualier, who had been killed in the action. But so much had the terror of the Mogul arms now taken possession of every mind, that they immediately desired to capitulate, and sent him, by way of ransom, a perfect diamond, weighing two hundred and twenty-four ruttys*, which was formerly the property of the emperor Alla. Baber presented it to his son Humaioon. Thus, upon the fifth day after his arrival, he was put in possession of the place, in which he found the mother of Ibrahim, who was treated with becoming

* A rutty is seven-eighths of a carat.

coming respect, and permitted to enjoy all her wealth. A.D. 1526. Hig. 933.

Reflections upon the conquest of Hindostan by Baber.

This conquest of Hindostan, as Baber himself writes in his Commentaries *, was certainly superior to that of any former conqueror. Mahmood of Ghizni was not only a powerful emperor, but the country was, at that time, divided into a number of kingdoms, which greatly facilitated his enterprizes. Mahommed Ghori brought an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men with him, when the kingdom was not so powerful. The like may be said of Timur, who ravaged Hindostan when it was torn to pieces by civil commotions. But the army of Baber was but a handful in proportion to that of Ibrahim, who possessed all the countries between the Indus and Behar, and could bring five hundred thousand men to the field; while Baber only possessed the poor countries of Cabul, Buduchshan, and Kandahar, the revenues of which were very inconsiderable. To what then can we attribute this extraordinary conquest, in a natural light, but to the great abilities and experience of Baber, the bravery of his few hardy troops, trained up to war, for their subsistence, and now fired with the hopes of glory and gain? But what contributed most to weigh down the scale of conquest, was the degeneracy of the Patans, effeminated by luxury and wealth, and dead to all principles of virtue and honor, which their corrupt factions and civil discords had totally effaced; it being now no shame to fly, no infamy to betray, no breach of honour to murder, and no scandal to change parties. When, therefore, the fear of shame and the love of fame were gone, it was no wonder that a herd,

* The Commentaries of Baber are still extant, and reckoned one of the best performances of the kind in the East.

A.D. 1526. Hig. 933.

herd, without unanimity, order, or discipline, should fall into the hands of a few brave men. This is the general tendency of wealth in all governments, if the reins are not held fast, the laws punctually executed, and the progress of corruption checked both by private and public economy.

Baber's generosity.

Upon the twentieth of Rigib, Baber went into the treasury, which was very rich. He reserved not a single dinar for himself, but divided it among his omrahs and troops; the share of the former coming to two lacks of rupees each; and those of others were proportionable to their rank and stations. A part was sent to Cabul, to be divided among Baber's subjects, which yielded to each a silver sharoch *, besides presents, which he sent to Samarcand, Chorassan, Kashgar, Pairac, Mecca, Medina, Kirbilla, Negif, Mushad, and other holy places, in charity. This generosity, which bordered upon prodigality, fixed upon Baber the name of Collinder, whose custom it is to keep nothing for to-morrow.

The provincial omrahs refuse to submit.

As the Patans were in great terror of the Moguls, and had a natural antipathy to their government, they still refused to submit, and appeared every where in arms, strengthening their forts, and erecting the standard of defiance in their different provinces; Cazim, in Simbol; Formalli, in Mewat; Zeitôn, in Dolepoor; Tatar, in Gualiêr; Hussein Lohani, in Rhaberi; Cuttub, in Atava; Allum, in Calpee; Nizam, in Biana; besides Nasir Lohani, and Furmalli, on the other side of the Ganges. All these chiefs refused to acknowledge Baber's authority. But as it was necessary to form an alliance for their mutual defence, they unanimously appointed Par Chan, the

* A silver sharoch is in value about a shilling sterling.

the son of Diria Lodi, their general, or, rather king, by the title of Sultan Mahommed; and, rendezvousing at Kinnoge, advanced towards Agra. At the same time, Mai, the Afghan chief, who had joined Baber, deserted him, with all his adherents: even the inhabitants of the country round Agra, cut off his foraging parties, and rendered it very difficult for him to support his cavalry, or supply his troops with provisions: Add to this, the intolerable heat of the weather, by which a great many Moguls, not being accustomed to such a climate, died. A.D. 1526. Hig. 933.

In this situation of affairs, Baber received an address from all his chiefs, requesting him to return to Cabul; to which he replied, That a kingdom which had cost him so much pains in taking, was not to be wrested from him but by death alone. He, at the same time, issued a proclamation, that he was determined to abide his fate in India; but if any person was desirous of returning to Cabul, preferring safety to glory, and ignoble ease to the manly toils and dangers of war, they might retire in peace, and leave him only those whose valour would reflect honour on themselves, and glory on their king and country. The omrahs hearing this, were ashamed of their former behaviour, and, striking their breasts, swore they would never forsake him; all, except Chaja Callan, whose bravery was too well established to be disputed, though he was advised, being at the point of death, to retire to recover his health. He was appointed governor of Cabul and Ghizni, for the great services which he had rendered to the king. When it was known that Baber had determined not to leave Hindostan, as his ancestor Timur had done, some omrahs, who were willing to be first in favour, began to come over to him; first, Gurin, with three thousand horse, Baber's distress and resolution.

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

horse, from between the rivers, offered his service, which was accepted. The next was Formalli, from Mewat, to redeem his sons who had been taken in the battle; then Firose and Chirmali, with their whole dependents.

Casim of Simbol submits.

Much about this time, an address was received from Casim of Simbol, that Bein, an Afghan, was besieging him in his fort, and that if the king would send him succours, he would list himself among his servants. The king sent a detachment that way, who engaged the Afghan, and defeated him, after which Casim put the Moguls in possession of the fort. The king then sent his son Humaioon, with the greatest part of his army, against the confederate Patan omrahs, whose forces amounted to fifty thousand horse; but, upon Humaioon's approach, they retreated from Kinnoge to Jionpoor. Humaioon having prevailed upon Fati, the former emperor's vizier, to join him, sent him to the king at Agra, who treated him with the utmost respect and favour, which induced several other Afghan chiefs to come over to his interest.

Nizam, governor of Biana, submits.

Nizam, governor of Biana, though he was now hard pressed by Rana Sinka, who wanted to make himself master of that province, still refused to submit to the king's authority, which obliged Baber to send Baba Kuli against him with a detachment, which was defeated. But Rana Sinka soon after reduced Nizam to such extremities, that he sent a deputation to Baber, begging pardon for his offence, and requesting he would support him, for which he was ready to pay him due allegiance. The king, glad of the opportunity, made no hesitation to embrace the offer, and, sending a force to drive off Rana, Nizam was put in possession of the place, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies,

for

for the annual payment of twenty lacks of rupees. A.D. 1526. Hig. 933.

The governors of Gualier propose to submit.

Tatar and Saring, who were in possession of the fort of Gualiêr, being besieged by the Indian prince of that country, in the same manner addressed the king for succours. Baber dispatched a detachment, which defeated the raja; but Saring recalled his promise, and refused to deliver up the place. There was in the fort, at that time, a philosopher, whose name was Shech Gose, who had a great number of students under him, and who wrote to the Mogul general, to endeavour to get permission to come himself into the fort, and that he would find means of accomplishing the rest of his desires.

Gualier taken by a stratagem.

The Mogul, for this purpose, begged leave, as he had enemies all around him, to bring his troops under protection of the garrison, for fear of a night assault, and that he might be permitted the honour of paying the philosopher a visit in the garrison. This being agreed to, the Mogul was received into the fort with a few attendants. He, from time to time, pretended occasion to send frequent messages in and out; till the officer of the guard troubled the governor so often for leave, that he desired him to send one of his own servants, to point out such necessary people as he might want to have free ingress and egress. The officer of the guard, who was a disciple of the philosopher, and who had been let into the plot, availed himself of this order, and permitted every body pointed out, to pass, by which means all the chosen men of the detachment were within the garrison before the entertainment was ended. Saring was told to give up the place, and threatened with instant death in case of refusal; so having satisfied himself of the circumstances, he made a virtue of necessity, and replied, That had he

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933. he not intended giving up the place to the king, he would never have been so unguarded as to permit his party to take this advantage, and accordingly submitted without resistance, and going in person to Agra, entered into the king's service. Zeiton, at the same time, arrived from Dolepoor, and had a command conferred upon him.

Not long after these transactions, Hamid, Saring, and other Afghans, raised, by a family quarrel, a great disturbance in the castle of Firosa. The king sent Timur against them, who chastised both parties. In the year nine hundred and thirty three, Chajagi, who had gone ambassador from Cabul to congratulate Shaw Tamasp, king of Persia, upon his accession, returned, accompanied by Solimân, and brought various curiosities. But that which pleased the king most, was two beautiful female slaves, just come to maturity, of whom he became greatly enamoured. The mother of the emperor Ibrahim, who had been before the greatest favourite in the seraglio, incensed at this change in the Sultan's affections, conspired with the taster and cook to poison him. The poison was accordingly administered in some hare-soup; but the king, after eating a few spoonfuls, nauseated the taste, and immediately vomited, which saved his life. After proper inquiry had been made, the taster and cook denying their knowledge of any such thing, the king ordered a dog to be brought, who having eat of the soup, was soon seized with convulsions, and died. Two of the under cooks being also brought to the trial, expired in the same manner; upon which the taster and head cook, with several of their assistants, were put to the torture. The plot was discovered, and the mother of Ibrahim cast into prison, and all her wealth confiscated. One of Ibrahim's sons was sent, at the same time, to Cabul, where

An attempt to poison Baber.

where he remained in banishment. Prince Humaioon, having defeated the omrahs at Jionpoor, left Birlass to keep those provinces in awe, returned himself to court, having, upon his way, conciliated matters with Allum, governor of Calpee, who now accompanied him, and was received with great respect. A.D. 1526. Hig. 933.

The king was at this time suddenly alarmed by advices, that many Patan omrahs, with Mahmood, the son of the emperor Secunder, and other chiefs and rajas in alliance, whose force exceeded one hundred thousand horse, were preparing to attack him. Baber having no dependence on the Patan chiefs who had joined him, detached them to defend different provinces, and with his own Moguls hastened towards the enemy. His van-guard falling in with their's, upon the frontiers of Biana, after a sharp conflict, were repulsed by the enemy with great loss, which struck unusual terror into the king's small army. Neazi fled to Simbol, Hassen joined the enemy, and every day brought disagreeable intelligence from all quarters. Nor did the predictions of Sherif a little add to the general consternation. This pretended wizard averred, that Brisput* was in the east, and consequently that whoever marched from the west should be overthrown. Baber alarmed with a confederacy against him.

The king perceiving this panic, called immediately a council of war. The greatest part of the officers gave it as their opinion, that, as the superiority of the enemy was evident, it was adviseable to leave a strong garrison in Agra, and to retreat with the bulk of the army to Punjaab. Baber, with a discontented aspect, fixed his eyes, in silence, upon the ground. He, at length, sternly A council of war.

* The planet Mars.

A.D. 1526. Hig. 933. sternly asked the chiefs, What would the world say of a monarch, whom the fear of death should oblige to abandon such a kingdom? "The voice "of glory," said he, "is loud in my ear, and "forbids me to disgrace my name, by giving up "what my arms have, with so much difficulty, "acquired. But, as death is at last unavoid-"able, let us rather meet him with honour, face "to face, than shrink back, to gain a few years "of a miserable and ignominious existence; for "what can we inherit but fame, beyond the li-"mits of the grave?" The whole assembly, as if inspired with one soul, cried out, at once, "War! War!" The king, having been formerly much addicted to wine, made a vow never to drink any more, should he, upon this occasion, prove victorious. Orders were immediately issued to prohibit the sale of wine in the camp; not so much from superstition, as to keep the mind cool for action.

Baber marches towards the enemy.

Upon the ninth of the second Jemmad, of the year nine hundred and thirty-three, which happened to be Norose *, Baber formed his line of battle, with his guns and rockets in his front. In that order he moved towards the enemy, who lay at the distance of six miles. But after he had advanced two miles he halted, and encamped his army. Several young warriors, fond of distinguishing themselves, issued out, under the command of Mahommed Casim, to skirmish with the enemy's scouts and advanced guards, among whom they did great execution.

The enemy advance to attack him.

The king, next day, advanced two miles further, and marked out his camp at the village of Kava; but his tents were scarcely pitched, when he perceived the enemy advancing upon him. He formed

* New-year's day.

formed his line with great expedition, in the manner which he had practised for some days before, and, in a few minutes, was able to receive the shock of battle. The army was chiefly drawn up by Nizam Chalipha, whom Baber reckoned his ablest general; and this order of battle being, on account of circumstances, different from the former, we shall relate it at large in this place.

A.D. 1526. Hig. 933.

The line, which upon this occasion was single, consisted of six brigades, exclusive of the king's life-guards in the centre, where Baber posted himself. Before each of the brigades, a few paces in front, the king placed a squadron of light horse, which formed another kind of line with great intervals. In front of the whole, the artillery and rocket-waggons were drawn up in three divisions, the right, left, and centre. The guns were chained together, so that there was a kind of fortification formed against the enemy's cavalry. The brigade immediately to the right of the centre, was commanded by Timur, consisting of his own tribe, and the troops of many other omrahs of distinction. The brigade to the left of the centre was under the immediate orders of Allum, a descendant of the emperor Beloli, and composed of his national troops, and those of five other nobles. The two brigades of the right wing were commanded in chief by prince Humaioon, and of these the right hand brigade consisted of the troops of Casim Hussein, and other chiefs of family and experience in war. The left hand battalion of prince Humaioon's division was made up of the troops of Seid Amir, and of those of other six nobles of the Mogul race.

The order of battle.

The two brigades of the left wing were commanded by Seid Chaja; the left hand battalion of whose division was composed of different squadrons, commanded by their respective chiefs. The

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933. right hand brigade was made up of the troops of Angi the Mogul, and those of Kumal, of the race of Alla, formerly emperor of India. The light horse of the left wing were commanded by Tirdi Beg; and those of the right wing by Mahmood Casim. Mahommed, the captain-general, took post before the king, with all his yessawils *, and a choice body of horse.

The battle begins. About ten o'clock in the forenoon the action was commenced by the artillery. The left of the enemy charging the right of the Moguls, soon fell in, hand to hand, with the battalions of Kokultash and Malleck Casim, and made them give ground. But Timur, by the Sultan's orders, inclining to the right with his brigade, took up their ground, and falling upon the assailants with great fury, put them to flight, the light horse pursuing them with great slaughter, quite through their own line. The enemy, in the mean time, being so numerous, extended their flanks far beyond the wings of the king, and came down upon him from all sides. Baber ordered his right and left wing to fall back, by which means his army was thrown into a circle. In this position he resisted the repeated assaults of the Patans till three o'clock, Alla Kuli of Rumi †, who commanded the artillery, making great slaughter among them.

Baber's army surrounded.

Baber finding the enemy fatigued by their repeated assaults, determined to act offensively, to drive them quite out of the field. He therefore put himself at the head of the brigades of Timur and Allum, and charging them like a lion rushing

* Aids de Camp.

† Rumi is the name of the Lesser Asia, so called from its being a part of the Roman empire. It is remarkable that the Eastern nations call the Ottomans Romans to this day.

ing from his forest, after an obstinate resistance, put their whole army to flight. Hassen of Mewat was killed with a cannon shot, and Raw Luddive, Chunder Ban, Mannuk Chohan, Kirim Sing, all powerful princes of the enemy, were numbered among the dead. The king, immediately after the victory, assumed the title of Ghazi *; and, as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the battle, he ordered a pyramid to be built upon an eminence near the field, which, according to the custom of his age and nation, was stuck round with the heads of the slain. The astrologer, after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction, was presented with a lack of rupees, and banished from the kingdom.

A. D. 1526. Hig. 933.

He overthrows the enemy.

Baber, from this fortunate field, marched towards Mavat, where Nihar, the son of Hassen, seeing no other means of safety, submitted himself and the country to the king. The government of Mavat was conferred upon Timur. After these transactions Baber returned to Agra, from whence he sent his son Humaioon to Cabul, with orders to add Balich to that province, and to rule both in his own name. Ali, and Tirdi Beg, were ordered against Hussein and Dirai, who still kept possession of Chandwar and Raberi. But upon the approach of the Moguls, they fled, and Hussein was drowned in crossing the Jumna, while Diria escaped. Mahommed, the king's cousin, was detached at the same time to Kinnoge, against Bein, the Afghan, who fled from thence to Cheirabad.

Reduces Mavat.

Upon the twenty-ninth of Zihidge, in the year nine hundred and thirty-four, the king marched to hunt towards Kole and Simbol. Having diverted himself with the chace for some time, he returned

Baber invests Chinderi.

* Ghazi signifies a warrior.

A. D. 1527. Hig. 934. returned to his capital, and was taken ill of a fever, of which however he soon recovered. He then marched towards Chinderi, where Medeni Rai, a Hindoo chief, had shut himself up with a strong garrison of Rajaputs. The place was invested, and the Rajaputs sallied out, and attacked the king; but they paid dear for their rashness, and lost six thousand men upon the field. Those who returned after this defeat into the fort, seeing no hopes of defending it longer against the enemy, according to their dreadful custom, murdered their wives and children in the following manner: they placed a sword in the hand of one of their chiefs, and he slew the unhappy victims, who, one after another, bent, of their own accord, their necks before him; they even contended among themselves about the honour of being first slain. The soldiers then threw a yellow powder upon their garments, as on a day of festivity, and throwing loose their hair, issued forth with their swords and shields, and sought after that death which they all obtained. The empty fort fell into the hands of the Moguls.

Defeats the omrahs of the East.

Advices were, about this time, received, that a detachment, which had been sent against the Patan chiefs of the tribe of Lodi, who held still the Eastern provinces, was defeated. The king, therefore, left Ahmed, the son of Mahommed, and grand-son of Sultan Nasir of Malava, who had now joined him in the government of Chinderi, and marched in person towards Kinnoge. He met his defeated troops at Raberi, and arriving at the river, he threw over it a bridge of boats. His general, Timur, was ordered to cross in the front, the enemy being then on the opposite shore. After a faint resistance, the Patans gave way; but Timur pursuing them, took part of their baggage, and a great number of their women and children.

The

The king, after this victory, hunted, for a few days, upon the banks of the Gang, and then returned to Agra. He appointed Zeman, one of the posterity of Timur, for he was the son of Budeli ul Zeman Mirza of Balich, governor of the city, and, in the year nine hundred and thirty-five, marched himself to survey the country. He first took the route of Gualier, and viewed there the fortifications, the stone elephant, and the palace of the Raja. He then visited the gardens of Rehim, and ordered some flowers and plants, of an uncommon kind, to be transplanted to Agra. He went to worship in the great mosque built by the emperor Altumsh, for whose soul he ordered prayers to be read, and returned, by another way, to Agra. A.D. 1528. Hig. 935. Arrives at Agra.

Baber, soon after his return to Agra, was seized with an intermitting fever, which continued upon him for eight months. Some superstitious people advised him, during his sickness, to write a poem in praise of Chaja Ahrar, one of the saints, to induce him to intercede with God for his health. Baber, though it is highly probable he did not give much credit to the power of the saint, actually wrote the poem, in the measure of Mowlani Jomi. The king recovered from his disorder about the eighth of the first Ribbi. He offered up public thanks to God for the restoration of his health, and made a great feast upon the occasion. He distributed magnificent presents among the omrahs and foreign ambassadors, and bestowed large sums to gladden the hearts of the poor. During this festival, Chandamire, the author of the Habib al Sier, Mowlana Mammai, and Mirza Ibrahim Canooni, who came from Herât, and were esteemed the greatest men for literature in that age, were introduced to the king: he loaded them with his favours, and ordered them places near his own person. Falls sick.

A.D. 1528. Hig. 935.

Ashkari sent against Nuserit, who submits.

The emperor's relation Ashkari, who governed Moultan, was, this year, ordered to court, and having exhibited the tokens of obedience, he was commanded to go against Nuserit, one of the Patan chiefs on the borders of the Decan. Nuserit, hearing of the approach of the Moguls, sent an ambassador to the king, subjecting himself to the royal authority. Nizam Beri, prince of Ahmednagur, at the same time sent to congratulate Baber on his good fortune, and proffered obedience. Baber, towards the close of this year, received advices that Mahmood, the son of the emperor Secunder Lodi, had possessed himself of the province of Behar, and that one Bellocha had erected the standard of rebellion in Moultan. The king sent orders to his omrahs in the north-west, concerning the affairs of Moultan, and marched in person towards Behar. When he arrived at Kurrah, Jellal, descended of that dynasty of Patans who styled themselves Emperors of the East, prepared a royal entertainment for him, and was honoured with his presence. Zeman was detached from Kurrah to the conquest of Behar. He soon drove Mahmood out of the field.

But a few months after, the Afghans of Behar, collecting themselves together a second time, advanced to the Gang, opposite to Hideri. The king detached Ashkari with a division of the troops to oppose them, and next day followed that officer with the whole army. When he came to the banks of the river, and saw the enemy on the opposite bank, he was preparing boats to cross; but Timur begged permission to go before. As soon as he made his landing good with eighty horse, Ashkari, who had crossed at another place, appeared in the enemy's rear; and they immediately took to flight. The king, after this action, left Junied Birlass to prosecute the war in con-

junction

junction with Nuserit, and returned to pass the rainy season in Agra. He visited, upon his way, Shech Eiah, at Monier, the father of Sherrif Moniri, and carried him to court. A.D. 1530. Hig. 937.

The prince Humaioon having left his brother Hindal to govern in his absence, returned about this time from Cabul to visit his father. Seid Chan of Argund took this opportunity of invading Buduchshan, and sent a force to attack Minkilla. Hindal, upon the approach of the enemy, retreated into the fort of Ziffer, where he was besieged. Seid of Argund, finding that he could not reduce the place, and that the inhabitants would not join him, ravaged the country, and returned home. But as the news of his retreat had not reached Agra, the government of Buduchshan was bestowed upon Soliman, one of the race of Timur, who set out immediately for that province with a letter from the king to Seid, expressing his surprize at hostilities, for which he could not account, but by some misbehaviour of his son Hindal; that, therefore, he had sent another person, who was allied to them both, to supply his place. When Soliman arrived, he found the country in perfect tranquillity, and took possession of the government, which his family have kept to this day. The prince Hindal returned to Agra. Transactions in Cabul.

In the year nine hundred and thirty-six, the Sultan fell sick, and his disorder continued daily to gain strength, in spite of the power of medicine. Despairing at last of life, he recalled his son Humaioon, who was then besieging the fort of Callinger, and appointed him his successor. Upon Monday the fifth of the first Jemmad, in the year nine hundred and thirty-seven, he resigned in peace that life which he had so often exposed in war. According to his will, his body Baber falls sick, and dies.

was

A.D. 1530. Hig. 937. was carried to Cabul, and interred in a holy sepulchre.

His character. What shall we say of Baber, the wonder of the age in which he lived! he mounted a throne at twelve years of age, and, with various turns of fortune, reigned thirty-eight. He was a prince of great humanity, and carried his generosity to such excess, that it bordered upon prodigality. With respect to the first, he so often pardoned ingratitude and treason, that he seemed to make a principle of rendering good for evil. He thus disarmed vice, and made the wicked the worshippers of his virtue.

His religion. He was of the sect of the Hanisites, in whose doctrine and tenets he was perfectly versed; yielding more to the evidence of reason, than to the marvellous legends of superstitious antiquity. He was not, however, forgetful of that rational worship which is due to the great Creator, nor a despiser of those laws and ceremonies which are founded on sound policy for the benefit of the superficial judges of things; he was a master in the arts of Poetry, Writing and Music; he wrote his own Commentaries in the Mogul language, with such elegance and propriety, that they are universally admired. This work was translated, in the reign of Ackbar, by Chan Chanan into the Persian language, and from it we have abridged the preceding history of the life of Baber.

His genius for the fine arts.

His person. In his person, he was something above the middle size, nervous, and well-formed. His countenance was pleasant, and in disposition he was easy, facetious, and affable.

His justice. To establish his reputation for justice and honour, we shall relate one instance out of many. When he was prince of Firghana, a rich caravan of

of Chitta and China, which was crossing the mountains of Indija, was buried in the snow. He ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to China to proclaim the accident, and bring the owners, or their heirs, to his court. Upon their arrival at the end of two years, he entertained them hospitably, and returned them all their goods, not only refusing to accept a present, but even to be reimbursed for his expences. A.D. 1530. Hig. 937.

Notwithstanding his great vigour in war, he was much addicted to wine and women, and all the fashionable pleasures of courts. He sometimes used, when he had an inclination to make merry, to fill a fountain with wine, upon which was inscribed a verse to this purpose: "Jovial "days! Blooming springs! Old wine, and young "maidens! Enjoy freely, O Baber, for life is "not twice to be enjoyed!" He then would sit down in the midst of his friends, drink freely, and feast his eyes on the daughter of beauty who danced before him. Addicted to pleasure.

Whithersoever he marched, or rode, he always had the road measured after him. This custom obtains with the emperors of Hindostan to this day. He made a statute concerning the measurement of distances, which has hitherto remained in force. He appointed a hundred tinnabs to one crore, each tinnab being forty guz *.

With respect to his military character, he seems to have had few that could equal him. He rendered the most dangerous enterprizes easy, by his undaunted courage and perseverance, which rose above all difficulties, and made him much more His talents for war.

* A guz is not quite an English yard.

A.D. 1530. Hig. 937. more the object of admiration in his adversity, than in the height of his prosperity. Nor did he forget himself in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterizes a great soul.

His genealogy. We have already traced Baber's descent from Timur; but as he was the founder of a great dynasty, it will be proper to follow his genealogy further back into antiquity. The great Zingis Chan, the son of Pissuka, the son of Pirna, had four sons of renown, who were all kings, and the fathers of nations. Their names were Oktai, Zagatay, Zuzi, and Tuli. Though Oktai was not the eldest son, yet he was, by his father, appointed his successor, and ruled over the extensive empire of Asia in the city of Caracorum, the original capital of his father's hereditary dominions. Oktai died, by excess of wine, in the year six hundred and thirty-nine.

The family of Timur, or Tamerlane. Zagatay, the second son of Zingis, possessed the kingdoms of Maver-ul-nere, Turkestân, Balich, and Buduchshan, in subordination to his brother Oktai. Kirrachar Nevian, who was the fifth ancestor of Timur, was one of his nobles, and, at length, captain-general of all his forces. The genealogy of Kirrachar runs thus: Timur the son of Jiraga, the son of Birket, the son of Alingar, the son of Abil, the son of Kirrachar, the son of Sagungi, the son of Ibumgi Berlass, the son of Katchuli, the son of Jumnai, the son of Basinker, the son of Kidu, who, by the mother's side, was descended from Basinger, a princess, from whom Zingis derived his pedigree. The family of Timur had also married into that of Zingis, so that Timur Bec was lineally descended from that conqueror of all Asia.

State of Asia at the death of Baber. Tamasp, the second of the Sophi dynasty, began his reign seven years before the death of Baber.

ber. He held the empire of all Persia and Maver-ul-nere, or Transoxiana, in peace for more than ten years after his accession. The provinces between Chorassan and India remained in the house of Baber. A.D. 1530. Hig. 937.

HUMAIOON.

The Prince Humaioon, by the title of Nasir ul Dien Mahommed, immediately after the death of Baber, mounted the throne of his father in India. He was a great astronomer, and took much delight in judicial astrology. He fitted up seven houses of entertainment, and named them after the seven planets. In each he gave public audience, according to the ruling planet of the day, ordering all the furniture, paintings, and also the dresses of those who waited upon him, to bear something that was an emblem of the tutelar star of the house. He even endeavoured to suit the people who came to pay their respects to the supposed influence of the planet which presided over the time of their attendance. In the house of the Moon met foreign ambassadors, travellers and poets. Military men attended him in the house of Brisput*; and judges, lawgivers, and secretaries, were received in that of the Recorder of Heaven †.

A. D. 1530. Hig. 937.

Humaioon a great astronomer.

But the urgency of important affairs did not permit Humaioon to follow long these innocent whims. Such only suited the days of peace, when the mind might enjoy her harmless follies. He scarcely had ascended the throne, when his brother, Camiran, who was then in Cabul, formed a design of making himself master of Punjâb. To conceal his intentions, he gave out, that he was going into Hindostan, to congratulate Humaioon upon his accession. The king being, however,

Designs of his brother against him.

* The Planet Mars. † Mercury.

ever, apprized of Camiran's views, by his behaviour in those countries through which he passed, and being extremely unwilling to make war upon his brother, consented to let him govern the provinces from the most southern branch of the Indus to Persia, holding them of the empire. This effectually stopped the progress of Camiran. The king, in the mean time, conferred the government of Mewat upon Hindal, his brother, and appointed his relation Askari to that of Simbol, the other provinces being left in the possession of the former subas. A.D. 1531. Hig. 938.

Besieges Callinger.

Humaioon, in the year nine hundred and thirty-eight, led an army against the strong fortress of Callinger, and invested the place. While the king carried on the siege, Mahmood, the son of the emperor Secunder Lodi, in conjunction with Bein the Afghan, took possession of Jionpoor, and kindled the flames of war in the eastern provinces. Humaioon, having received intelligence of these commotions, decamped from before Callinger, marched to Jionpoor, in a pitched battle overthrew the Afghans, and reinstated Juneid Birlass in his former government of that province.

Demands possession of Chinâr.

The emperor, after this signal victory, returned to Agra, and bestowed honorary dresses upon above twelve thousand of his courtiers. He, in the mean time, dispatched a herald to Shere Chan, and demanded possession of the fortress of Chinâr*; which being refused, Humaioon marched his army that way. When the king lay before Chinâr, he was informed, that Bahadur, king of Guzerat, had turned towards him the points of his

* Chinâr is a very strong fortress in the province of Oud, within seven crores of Benaris. Both Shere Chan and Sultan Bahadur were governors under the former empire, and had, after the death of Ibrahim, assumed independence.

A.D. 1531. Hig. 938.

his spears. This obliged him to patch up a kind of a peace with Shere, and to return towards Agra. Cuttub, the son of Shere, whom the emperor had taken as an hostage, found means, on the way, to make his escape, and to return to his father at Chinâr.

A conspiracy discovered.

Mahommed Zeman, of the race of Timur, the grandson of Hussein, aspired to the throne, and was supported in his pretensions by the omrahs of Chigittai. The plot was discovered, and the leader of the conspiracy pardoned: but Humaioon finding him, a second time, meditating treasonable practices, he ordered him to be confined in the fortress of Biana. Orders were given to put out the eyes of Mahummud Sultan and Nuserit Mirza, for being the principal abettors of the prince's ambitious designs; but the person to whom it was intrusted to inflict this punishment, saved the eyes of the former, while the latter found means to escape to Guzerat. Sultan, by the aid of his sons Ali Mirza and Shaw Mirza, who formed a party, was carried away to Kinnoge, where he was joined by about six thousand Moguls, Afghans, and Rajaputs.

Rebellion at Kinnoge.

Humaioon sent to Bahadur, under whose dominion was the city of Kinnoge, and commanded him to deliver up Mahommed; but he rejected the orders in an insolent manner, which obliged the emperor to march against him. Bahadur king of Guzerat had, about this time, resolved to wrest the fort of Chitor from the Rana. Rana threw himself under the protection of Humaioon; but the emperor, for what reason is not known, having advanced as far as Gualier, encamped there for two months, and returned, without effecting any thing, to Agra. Rana, despairing of relief, sent a crown, and a considerable sum of money, to Bahadur, which induced him to raise the siege.

4 Bahadur,

Bahadur, whose affairs were now in a very prosperous situation, by the reduction of Mindu, and other places, began to shew his contempt of Humaioon, by advancing the conspirator Mahommed to great honours. He also prompted Alla, descended of the emperor Beloli Lodi, to attempt to possess himself of the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpose, made Tatar, the son of Sultan Alla, his general, and dispatched him, with forty thousand men, against Humaioon, with which he subdued Biana, and advanced to the environs of Agra. A.D. 1532. Hig. 939. Bahadur sends an army against Humaioon,

This pressing danger awakened the king from his lethargy. He immediately sent his brother, the prince Hindal, with a force to oppose Tatar. When the armies approached one another, there was so great a desertion from Tatar's troops, that, in the space of ten days, ten thousand horse scarce remained to him. He however resolved, with these, to stand his ground, and give battle to the imperial army; but he was totally overthrown, lost the most of his troops, three hundred officers of distinction, and his own life. Hindal, after this victory, retook Biana, and all the other places which had before fallen into the hands of the enemy, and returned in triumph to Agra. which is totally defeated.

Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty, marched, a second time, towards Chitor; and, in the mean time, Humaioon ordered a fort to be built in Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna, which he called Panna. He, soon after, marched towards Saringpoor, which then held of Bahadur, as king of Guzerat, and wrote to him a punning couplet, unworthy of the dignity and majesty of a king. Chitor, in the Persian language, signifies, *in what manner;* and upon this was founded the miserable witticism contained in the verses. The words were, "O thou plun- Bahadur marches against Chitor.

 "derer

A.D. 1533. Hig. 940.

"derer of the city of Chitor! *in what manner* "canst thou conquer the idolaters? For when "thou wouldst wish to conquer Chitor; thou "know'st not *in what manner* the king comes to "conquer thee." Bahadur answered Humaioon in his own strain, and in the following words: "I, who am the plunderer of Chitor, will con-"quer the idolaters by valour; and he who dares "not succour Chitor, shall see *in what manner* "he himself shall be conquered." The wit is wretched on both sides; but he who began the pun is most to blame.

Calls a council of war.

Bahadur, after sending the above billet to Humaioon, called a council of war. It was the open opinion of the majority, that as Humaioon had all his force with him, it were better to raise the siege, and march against him, and thus to take up the war by the roots. Others urged, that Humaioon was so rigid in his religious principles, that he would not disturb them in their war with idolaters; that therefore it was most adviseable to finish the siege, which was now far advanced, and afterwards to think of other matters. Bahadur himself favoured the latter opinion. The siege was accordingly continued; and Humaioon, piquing himself upon his religious principles, continued loitering at Saringpoor, till Bahadur had taken the fort. Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty-one, marched with great expedition against Humaioon, who, hearing of his approach, marched forward to meet him. The two armies appeared in front of each other, near Munsoor. Bahadur, who had collected a great train of artillery, by advice of his engineer, Rumni Chan, entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in his front. This prevented Humaioon from risquing an attack, and both armies continued in sight of one another for the space of two months. Daily skirmishes

were,

were, in the mean time, fought, with various success. A.D. 1534. Hig. 941.

Humaioon, finding that he could not draw Bahadur out of his trenches, employed all his attention to cut off his supplies. He ordered his horse, in successive bodies of five or six thousand, to scour the rear of the enemy, by which means famine began soon to be severely felt in their camp; men, horses, elephants, and camels, perishing daily in great numbers. Humaioon cuts off his supplies.

Bahadur, instead of making one brave effort to relieve himself, permitted base fear and despair to seize upon him; and, with only five friends, left his camp in the night, and fled towards Mindu. This was no sooner known, than the flight became general; the chiefs dispersing themselves, with their adherents. Humaioon, in the morning, ordered the pursuit to commence, which was continued, as far as Mindu, with great slaughter of the unfortunate wretches, who had neither the power to escape, nor the means to defend themselves. Bahadur threw himself into Mindu, and the place was closely invested. Cowardice and flight of Bahadur.

In a few days, three hundred Moguls scaled the walls of Mindu, in the night; and though the garrison consisted of many thousands, such was their panic, that they all betook themselves to flight. Bahadur escaped to Chapanier, which was then the capital of Guzerat, while Sidder Chan, his captain-general, who was dangerously wounded, not able to proceed farther, shut himself up in the fort of Sunkar, where being besieged, he capitulated the second day, and was, on account of his excellent character, received into great favour. Sidder, during the pursuit, saved Bahadur, when almost taken by Humaioon, by throwing himself in between the kings, till his master had an opportunity of making his escape. But he himself was attacked with such Mindu taken by surprize.

A. D. 1534. Hig. 941. violence by Humaioon in person, that, after receiving many wounds, he got off with great difficulty.

Humaioon pursues Bahadur. The king, three days after the taking of Mindu, renewed the pursuit after Bahadur, who, having taken all his treasure and jewels out of the city of Chapanier, fled towards Amudabad. The king, giving up the city of Chapanier to plunder, and committing the siege of the citadel, which still held out, to Dowlat Birlass, continued to pursue Bahadur. The unfortunate Bahadur, hearing of his approach, fled to Cambait, but Humaioon pursuing him thither, he retired to the island of Deo, Humaioon arriving in Cambait the very evening of the same day in which Bahadur forsook it.

Returns to the siege of the citadel. Humaioon remained a few days in this place, but hearing that Bahadur's wealth was mostly in the citadel of Chapanier, he returned to carry on that siege. Achtiar, who commanded in the place, defended it with great bravery. But though he had some years provision in the fort, he was covetous of more, and took in daily supplies by a certain part of the citadel, which was covered by a thick wood. The king, one day, reconnoitring the place, observed the proceedings of Achtiar, with regard to the provisions. He immediately seized upon a party of country people who carried the supplies through the woods. He persuaded, or rather commanded them, to carry him, in disguise, to the place. They had admittance. The king made the necessary remarks, returned to his camp, and the same night ordered a parcel of iron spikes to be made.

His gallant exploit. He himself, with three hundred select men, went to the place, while feigned attacks were made upon every other quarter of the fort. As the access to this part of the fortress was extremely difficult, the attention of the enemy was en-

tirely drawn towards the different assaults. This furnished the king with an opportunity of fixing his iron spikes in the wall, by which means thirty-nine officers mounted, and the king himself made the fortieth. Before sun-rise his whole detachment was within the walls, when he displayed a signal which had been previously settled with his troops. They accordingly made a violent assault upon all sides, and Humaioon, in the mean time, at the head of his detachment, cried out, Alla Akbar!* and forcing his way, sword in hand, through the enemy, possessed himself of one of the gates: he immediately opened it, and admitted his troops, and all, except Achtiar and his family, who were in an outwork, were put to the sword. The governor defended himself so bravely, that he obtained a capitulation. The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness of the attempt by which it fell, rendered this action of the king, equal, in the opinion of all mankind, to any thing of the like nature recorded in history. Here the treasure of Guzerat, which had been collected in the course of many years, was distributed among the troops. He gave to the officers and soldiers what wealth could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value of the things to their rank and merit. All the wealth of Room, Chitta, and Fring†, which had been there collected to a vast amount, was delivered over to plunder. A.D. 1535. Hig. 942.

Bahadur having secured himself in Deo, sent Chirkuss to Ahmedabad, to collect the revenues, and levy troops. He found himself soon at the head of fifty thousand men, and was daily gaining strength and reputation. Humaioon having intelli- Bahadur levies forces.

* That is, God is greatest.
† The Turkish Empire, China, and Europe.

A. D. 1535. Hig. 942. intelligence of the transactions of Bahadur, appointed Tirdi Beg to command the fort of Chapanier, and the adjacent countries, and marched in person with his army towards Ahmedabad. Chirkuss drew out his troops to oppose him, and falling in with the vanguard of the imperialists, commanded by the prince Ashkari, he was defeated before the rest of the army could be brought up to the engagement. The king, for this signal service, appointed Ashkari governor of the splendid city of Ahmedabad. He divided then the provinces of Guzerat among his omrahs, and marched against Burhanpoor. Nizam, of Burhan, and the other provinces of the Decan, apprehensive of his designs to reduce Chandez, wrote to him letters of submission and allegiance.

Humaioon reduces all Guzerat.

The insurrection under Shere Chan.

These letters had scarce arrived, when the news of the insurrection of Shere Chan came to the king. He, however, reduced all the countries about Burhanpoor, then marched round to Mindu. Chirkuss, in the mean time, in conjunction with the omrahs of Guzerat, began again to acquire strength, and marched, with an army, towards Ahmedabad. Humaioon, having marched into the eastern provinces, invested Chinar, and reduced it after a siege of six months. Having then gained the passes, he entered Bengal. Shere, in the mean time, carried away the treasure of the princes of Gour and Bengal, whom he had reduced, and fled to the mountains of Jarcund. The king continued his march to Gour, the capital of Bengal, took it, and commanded it to be called Ginnitabad †. Having resided in that city for the space of three months, he was obliged, on account of the moist air of that country, by which the greatest part of his army fell sick, as well

† The paradisial city.

well as by the rebellion of his brother, the prince Hindal at Agra, to return. A. D. 1539. Hig. 946.

Hindal had been sent to suppress Mahommed Mirza, who, we have already observed, had escaped to Kinnoge. But instead of performing that service, he, as soon as he saw himself at the head of an army, began to aspire to the throne. He accordingly marched back to Agra, where he discovered his treasonable intentions, by putting some of the principal people, who rejected his authority, to death. He thus enforced obedience, and throwing away every disguise, ordered the chutba to be read in his own name, and, with all the ensigns of royalty, marched to Delhi, and besieged it. The king, having heard of these proceedings, left Jehangire and Ibrahim to command in Bengal, and hastened towards Agra. When he was about half way, Mahommed Zeman, of the race of Timur, who had formerly joined Bahadur, returned from Sind, and, being promised a pardon, joined the king with a considerable party. In the mean time, Shere the Afghan, finding the king's army so much weakened by sickness and desertion, and his affairs further perplexed by the rebellion of Hindal, marched with his troops from Rotas, and came behind the king on the Jossa *. Both armies lay three months inactive, at a time when the king ought to have run all hazards, being every day insulted, and more and more distressed by the enemy, who prevented his crossing the river. The brothers disagree.

To add still to Humaioon's misfortunes, his other brother, Camiran, instead of assisting him, ungenerously aspired to his throne, and marched with ten thousand horse from Lahore. When he arrived at Delhi, prince Hindal prevailed upon him to join his forces with his own, after which they Camiran mounts the throne in Agra.

* Perhaps the Sone, or Carin nassa.

A.D. 1539. Hig. 946. they both continued the siege. Ali, who commanded in the city, acquainted Camiran, that he could never think of betraying his trust, and rather than be so ungrateful to his prince, he was determined to hold out to the last drop of his blood; but, that, if he would first possess himself of Agra, the capital, and entirely subdue his brother, he would then, and not till then, give up the city of Delhi. When Camiran and his brother found the governor so determined, and that the siege would cost them much blood and time, they set out together for Agra When they had reached the environs of that city, the jealousy which the brothers naturally entertained of each other, the eyes of both being turned towards the throne, broke out into open war. Hindal being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwir, with five thousand horse, and three hundred elephants; and Camiran, entering Agra, assumed all the imperial ensigns.

Humaioon endeavours in vain to bring over his brothers. Humaioon endeavoured, by every possible argument with his brothers, to bring about a coalition of interests against Shere, telling them, that their family quarrels would certainly, in the end, lose them that mighty empire, which had cost their father so much pains to conquer, and involve the family of Timur in one common ruin; that it was therefore adviseable to join against the common enemy, and afterwards divide the empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with his brothers, who were so blinded with ambition, that they were determined rather to lose all, than be contented with a part. They vainly hoped that after Shere had defeated Humaioon, they should be able to subdue Shere; and each had the folly to suppose, that he would be able to exclude the other, and so reign alone.

At

At this juncture Shere sent the learned Chelili, a dervish of great reputation, to Humaioon, to treat about a peace, which the king accepted with gladness upon the following conditions: That Shere should content himself with Bengal and Behar, which he was to hold in the king's name, paying a small acknowledgment.

A.D. 1539. Hig. 946.

Makes peace with Shere.

When the conditions were signed and ratified by mutual oaths, Humaioon, trusting too much to the faith of his enemy, permitted a free intercourse between both armies. This was what the perfidious Shere aimed at by the peace. He accordingly, next morning, surprized the emperor's camp before day-break, and totally defeated him. As the bridge of boats, which the king had been preparing, was not finished, there was no way of escape left, but by plunging into the river; all the boats being seized by a party of the enemy, who had turned the rear of the emperor's army. Humaioon, his nobles, and a great part of his army, were forced into the stream, where eight thousand Moguls, exclusive of Hindoos, were drowned, among whom was the prince Mahommed Zeman. This terrible overthrow happened to Humaioon in the year nine hundred and forty-six.

Treachery of Shere.

Humaioon overthrown.

The king, by the assistance of a waterman, having with great difficulty swam across the river, with a few who had survived the slaughter of this dreadful day, fled to Agra. Prince Camiran hearing of this defeat, hastened from Agra to Alwir, to consult with his brother Hindal. Finding that now the Afghans were likely to prevail, they were ashamed of their behaviour to their brother, and, when it was too late, thought proper to support him. In the mean time, all the Mogul omrahs who were dispersed in the provinces, seeing that the power of their nation had sustained

Escapes to Agra.

A.D. 1539. Hig. 946. sustained such a violent shock, found it also necessary to unite their strength. They accordingly hastened from all quarters to Agra; Jehangire, and Ibrahim, having left Bengal, and even Mahommed Mirza, who had rebelled in Kinnoge, joined now in the general cause against the Afghans.

Quarrels between the brothers. The three brothers having met at Agra, held daily consultations; but Camiran, who was not earnest in reconciling their different interests, brought all their councils to nothing, and proposed to return to Lahore, to which resolution he was very much instigated by the famous Chaja Callan. Humaioon used every argument to prevent his departure; but the ambitious Camiran was determined to be every thing himself, or to give no assistance to his brother.

Camiran deserts the king. These impolitic disputes had lasted six months, when Camiran was seized with a false appetite, which he too much indulged, and consequently became afflicted with a lientery, which he imputed to poison given him by his brothers. He immediately set out for Lahore, leaving a thousand horse with Secunder, one of his chiefs, under pretence of assisting his unfortunate brother. The inhabitants of Agra were greatly discouraged at Camiran's departure, so that many of them, fearing the issue of the war, accompanied him. Hyder, one of the posterity of Timur, disgusted with this behaviour, staid behind, and joined Humaioon, to whom he was of great service.

Shere advances to the Gang. Shere, who had remained quiet during these disputes, now advanced with an army to the banks of the Gang, and detaching his son Cuttub over the river, possessed himself of the adjacent provinces. Humaioon having received intelligence of these motions, ordered Hussein the Usbeck, in conjunction with Eadgar and Secunder, against him, with a great army. They met the enemy

enemy near Calpie, where an obstinate engagement happened, in which victory declaring for the Moguls, Cuttub, with a great part of his army, was cut off, and his head sent to Agra. The generals, at the same time, invited the king to come and have the honour of conquering Shere in person. A.D. 1540. Hig. 947.

Humaioon accordingly marched with an hundred thousand horse, and crossing the Gang near Kinnoge, sat down for the space of a month before the army of Shere, which consisted of little more than half his number. In the mean time, Mahommed Mirza, and his sons, who were remarkable for their treachery and ingratitude, fled to the enemy, with all their adherents, drawing many more after them, which again plunged the king into distress; for his army being dispirited, began to desert by thousands. To complete his misfortunes, the rainy season now commenced, and his camp was quite overflowed with water, insomuch that the tents seemed afloat. The king therefore resolved to move his camp to higher ground. Humaioon marches against him,

On the tenth of Mohirrim, nine hundred and forty-seven, he put his army in motion. He was attacked by Shere on his march, and defeated with great slaughter. Having unfortunately, as in the former action, the river then close to his rear, the flight turned that way, and some thousands, to avoid the swords of the enemy, chose a more ignominious death in the water. A few only escaped with the king over the river, with whom he fled to Agra; the rest submitted themselves to the conquerors, or dispersed by various routes. and is overthrown.

Shere, immediately after this victory, advanced towards Agra. The king was forced to retreat to Lahore, and on the first of Ribbi, the first of that year, joined the greatest part of his Shere advances to Agra.

Mogul

A.D. 1541. Hig. 948. Mogul omrahs, who had been dispersed since the action. Shere still continuing the pursuit, to make the best use of his victory, crossed the river of Jullanpoor; upon which the king, upon the first of Rigib, passed the river of Lahore, and retreated towards Tatta and Bicker upon the Indus Camiran, now sensible of his ungenerous and impolitic behaviour, was himself obliged to fly towards Cabul, and saw an empire wrested from his family, by the effects of that base envy, which could not behold even a brother's greatness without pain.

Humaioon's embassy to the governor of Tatta.

Humaioon having crossed the Indus, on his way to Bicker, halted at Lori, and sent an ambassador, with a horse and dress to his cousin Hussein, governor of Tatta, to request his aid, that he might be able to possess himself of Guzerat. Hussein seeming to listen to his request, detained the king, by various artifices and excuses, for five months, by which means his small army, distressed for want of pay, daily diminished in numbers. The prince Hindal, his brother, in the mean time left him, and went to Kandahar, being invited thither by the governor of that province. Eadgar Nasir proposed, at the same time, to quit Humaioon; but the unfortunate king took great pains to keep him firm to his interest, giving him the government of Bicker. But he had no sooner taken possession of that place, than he began to strengthen himself against his sovereign.

His great distress.

Humaioon, in the mean time, had, with his little army, laid siege to Sewan for seven months, without effect, when Hussein, desirous of getting the place into his own hands, advanced, with a great force, from Tatta, and surrounding both the garrison and the besiegers, prevented supplies from being carried to either. Humaioon's army

were

were soon greatly distressed, as well as the garrison. The king, driven to extremities, requested Eadgar to join him with what forces he had in Bicker; but this ungrateful man chose rather to be prevailed upon to join Hussein, who promised him his daughter, and to secure him in his government. He immediately deserted the king's interest at this dangerous crisis, and Humaioon was obliged to retreat precipitately from before Sewan towards Bicker. He could not even obtain, in that place, a few boats from his own perfidious subjects, to waft his small army over the river. After a search of some days, and wandering along the banks, he discovered some boats that had been sunk, raised them, and transported his troops to the other side. A. D. 1541. Hig. 948.

Eadgar submits.

Notwithstanding this accumulation of misfortunes, Humaioon had strength enough left to strike terror into Eadgar, who, to avoid his resentment, came and made his submission. The necessity of the times obtained his pardon; but in return for Humaioon's clemency, he began to raise sedition among his troops, and privately to draw them over to his own interest. This treason being communicated to the king, the traitor, on being taxed with it, appeared at the head of his troops in open rebellion. But the principal officers of the rebellious faction refused to attack their king, so that an action was prevented when both parties were formed in order of battle. The king being in no condition, at that juncture, to contend with the rebel, thought it high time to provide for his own safety elsewhere. He therefore marched, by the way of Jesselmere to Maldeo, then the most potent Hindoo prince in Hindostan, having before received an invitation from him. But as he was passing through the territories of Jasselmere, the prince of that country sent a force

A.D. 1541. Hig. 948.

a force to oppose him. The king defeated them, and passed on to the boundaries of Maldeo, where he halted, and sent a messenger to that prince.

Rajah Maldeo plots against Humaioon.

But few keep faith with a king, when he is under the cloud of misfortunes. Maldeo, seeing he had nothing to fear from Humaioon, found in his own mind no principle to love him; he therefore resolved, if possible, to seize the king, and send him to the usurper Shere. One of Maldeo's servants, who had formerly lived under Humaioon, having intelligence of this design, immediately informed the king.

He flies.

Humaioon mounted his horse, at midnight, and fled towards Amercot, which is about one hundred crores from Tatta. His horse, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, he desired Tirdi Beg, one of his chiefs, who was well mounted, to let him have his; but so ungenerous was this man, and so low was royalty fallen, that he refused to comply with his sovereign's request. The troops of Maldeo being close to his heels, he was necessitated to mount a camel, till one Koka, dismounting his own mother, gave the king her horse, and placing her on a camel, ran himself on foot by her side.

His great distress.

The country through which they fled, being an entire sandy desart, the troops began to be in the utmost distress for water. Some ran mad, others fell down dead; nothing was heard but dreadful screams and lamentations. To add, if possible, to this calamity, news arrived of the enemy's near approach. Humaioon ordered all those who could fight to halt, and let the women and baggage move forward. The enemy not making their appearance, the king rode on in front, to see how it fared with his family.

Night,

Night, in the mean time, coming on, the rear lost their way, and in the morning were attacked by a party of the enemy. One of the omrahs who adhered to the king's fortunes, named Ali, with about twenty brave men, resolved to sell his life dear. Having repeated the creed of martyrdom, he rushed upon the enemy, and the first arrow having reached the heart of the chief of the party, the rest were, by the valour of this handful, put to flight. The other Moguls joined in the pursuit, and took many of their camels and horses. They then continued their march, found the king sitting by a well, which he had fortunately found, and gave him an account of their adventure. A.D. 1541. Hig. 948

Marching forward, the next day, from this well, they were more distressed than before, there being no water for two days journey. On the fourth day of their retreat, they fell in with another well, which was so deep, that the only bucket they had, took a great deal of time in being wound up, and therefore a drum was beat to give notice to the people when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The unhappy men were so impatient for the water, that as soon as the first bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themselves upon it, before it quite reached the brim of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was lost, and several fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the screams and lamentations of all became loud and dreadful. Some lolling out their tongues, rolled themselves, in agony, on the hot sand; while others, precipitating themselves into the well, met with an immediate, and consequently an easier death. What did not the unhappy king feel, when he saw this terrible situation of his few faithful friends!

The king's dreadful situation for want of water.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

friends! The next day, though they reached a brook, was not less fatal than the former. The camels, who had not tasted water for several days, now drank so much, that the greatest part of them died. The people also, after drinking, complained of an oppression of the heart, and in about half an hour a great part of them expired.

A few, with the king, after this unheard-of distress, reached Amercot. The raja, being a humane man, took compassion on their misfortunes. He spared nothing that could alleviate their miseries, or express his fidelity to the king.

Akbar born.

At Amercot, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib, in the year nine hundred and forty-nine, the prince Ackbar was brought forth, by the Sultana Hamida. The king, after returning thanks to God, left his family under the protection of Rana, the prince of Amercot, and, by the aid of that raja, marched against Bicker. But a mutiny arising among the troops, they dispersed, so that nothing could be effected. Some of the king's own omrahs deserted him, and the gallant Ali, one of his principal adherents, was killed in an action in which Humaioon was defeated. The king fled towards Kandahar, and was, on his way, joined by that gallant Mogul chief, Byram Chan, from Guzerat. The prince Camiran had, at that time, taken the fortress of Kandahar from his brother Hindal; and Ashkari governed there by his appointment. Hussein, who governed at Tatta, changing his mind with the increase of Humaioon's misfortunes, wrote to Ashkari, that the king was in the utmost distress, and that if he would now favour him, so meritorious an action could not be forgot. Ashkari, instead of listening

Humaioon defeated; flies towards Kandahar.

listening to this request, attacked the king when he approached, obliging him to leave behind him his young infant son, Ackbar, and fly himself, with the Sultana Mariam, and only twenty-two horse, to Chorassan. Ashkari expressed great sorrow at the king's escape, and, plundering all his effects, carried the young prince to Kandahar. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

The king, by repeated trials, found that he could place no faith in his brothers. When he arrived upon the frontiers of Seistan, he was met by Shamlu, who was there governor on the part of Tamasp, king of Persia. He brought Humaioon to the capital of Seistan, and treated him with the greatest respect, presenting him with all the money of which he was possessed, and furnishing the Sultana with slaves. The king received just what supplied his occasions, and returned the rest: he from thence set out for Herat, and was, in that city, met by the prince Mahommed, the king of Persia's eldest son. This prince forgot nothing of that generosity and politeness which so remarkably distinguished his character. He provided the unfortunate exile very effectually with all necessaries for his journey to the Persian court. In the progress of Humaioon towards the capital of Persia, all the governors of the provinces and great men paid him their compliments, and made magnificent entertainments for him. When he arrived at Kizvi, he dispatched Byram to the Persian king, at Ispahan, and waited for his answer. Let us now leave Humaioon, to give an account of the transactions in Hindostan during his exile. Is received kindly by the Persians.

Tamasp still held the sceptre of Persia. The Ottomans, and their emperor Soliman, carried on a successful war against the Persians, and the State of Asia.

A.D. 1542. Hig. 949. Usbeck Tartars were extremely troublesome on the north-east banks of the Oxus. The frontier provinces to the north-west of the Indus remained to the house of Timur, after the expulsion of Humaioon from India.

SHERE.

SHERE.

THE original name of Shere was Ferid. His father was Hussein, of the Soor tribe of the Afghans of Roh, a mountainous country on the confines of India and Persia. When Beloli placed his foot on the throne of the Indian empire, the grandfather of Shere, Ibrahim, came to Delhi in quest of military service. The original seat of the Afghans was Roh, which, in their language, signifies a mountainous country. It extended, they say, in length, from Sewad and Bijore, to the town of Sui in the dominions of Buckurast, and in breadth, from Hussin to Rabul. This tract, in its fertile vallies, contained many separate tribes; among the number of these was that of Soor, who derive themselves from the princes of Ghor, whose family held the empire after the extinction of the race of Ghizni. One of the sons of the Ghorian family, whose name was Mahommed Soor, having left his native country, placed himself among the Afghans of Roh, and was the father of the tribe of Soor, which was esteemed the noblest among them. A.D. 1542. Hig. 949. Shere's family.

Ibrahim, the grandfather of Shere, arriving at Delhi, engaged himself in the service of an omrah of the court of Beloli. When the empire fell to Secunder, the son of Beloli, the noble Jemmal, a chief of high renown, was appointed suba of Jionpoor, and he took Hussein, the son of Ibrahim, in his retinue. He found him a youth of parts, and favoured him so much, that, in a Ibrahim arrives at Delhi.

 short

A.D. 1542. Hig. 949. short time, he gave him the districts of Sehsaram and Tanda in Jagier, for which he was to maintain five hundred horse. Hussein had eight sons; Ferid and Nazam of one mother, of a Patan family; the other sons were born of slaves.

Ferid flies from his father's house. Hussein had no great love for his wife, and he therefore neglected her sons. Ferid, upon this, left his father's house, and enlisted himself a soldier in the service of Jemmal, the governor of Jionpoor. Hussein wrote to Jemmal upon this occasion, requesting him to send back his son, that he might be educated. But all that Jemmal could say had no effect upon Ferid. Jionpoor, he said, was a better place for instruction than Sehsaram; and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. This he did to so much purpose, that he soon could repeat the works of the celebrated poet Sadi, and was, besides, a proficient in all the learning of the country. He, however, employed most of his time in history and poetry, being supported by the liberality of Jemmal.

Is reconciled with his father. After three or four years had elapsed, Hussein came to Jionpoor, and, by the mediation of friends, the father and son were reconciled. Hussein gave Ferid the charge of his estate, and remained himself at Jionpoor. Ferid, when he took leave of his father, said, "That the stability of government depended on justice, and that it would be his greatest care not to violate it, either by oppressing the weak, or permitting the strong to infringe the laws with impunity." When he arrived at his jagier, he actually put this resolution in practice, by rendering justice to the poor, and reducing to order such of his zemindars as opposed his authority. He, by this means, had his revenues punctually paid, and his country well cultivated. His reputation grew apace; for all his

his actions discovered uncommon genius and resolution. A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Hussein coming to visit his estate, was extremely well pleased with the management of his son, and therefore continued him in his office. But the father had a favourite slave by whom he had three sons, Soliman, Ahmed, and Mudda, and the old man was extremely fond of her. She told him, that now her son Soliman was grown up, and that he ought to provide for him. She, day after day, continued to teaze Hussein for the superintendency of the pergunnahs for Soliman. This gave the old omrah great concern, knowing the superior abilities of Ferid. The son, hearing that the domestic peace of his father was destroyed by the importunities of his favourite, made a voluntary resignation of his trust, which was accordingly conferred upon Soliman.

Ferid, and his brother Nizam, set out immediately for Agra, and entered into the service of Dowlat, one of the principal omrahs of the emperor Ibrahim. Ferid, by his good behaviour, soon insinuated himself into his master's affection. Dowlat, one day, desired him to tell him what he was most desirous to obtain, and that he would use his interest with the king in his favour. Ferid replied, That his father was now in his dotage, and wholly guided by an artful mistress, who had deprived both himself and his brother of their patrimonial inheritance, and had procured their estate for her own spurious offspring. That if Dowlat would, therefore, by his interest at court, procure the royal grant of the estate in his name, he would promise to provide for his father, and maintain five hundred good horse for the service of the empire. Dowlat accordingly preferred this request to the emperor Ibrahim, who replied, That he must be a bad man indeed, who reviled and undermined the interest of his own father. Dow- Goes to Agra.

A.D. 1542. Hig. 949. lat retired in silence, and informed Ferid of the answer he had received, but comforted him with a promise of taking another opportunity to urge his request. In the mean time, the father of Ferid died, and Dowlat obtained the Emperor's grant, with which the two brothers set out to Sehsaram with a grand retinue.

His brother Soliman complains of him to Mahommed Soor.

Soliman, upon the arrival of his brothers, evacuating the country, went off to Mahommed, one of the Afghan family of Soor, and his relation, who held the district of Chond, and kept up a force of fifteen hundred horse, and complained of the behaviour of Ferid. Mahommed told him, that Baber, intending to invade Hindostan, a war between him and the emperor Ibrahim was unavoidable. That, therefore, if he should accompany him when called to the imperial army, he would endeavour to get him redress. Soliman was too impatient to wait so long in suspense. Mahommed, therefore, sent a person to Ferid, to treat about a reconciliation. Ferid replied, That he was willing to give him a proper share of his father's inheritance, but that he must be excused from parting with any of his power; repeating, at the same time, the old adage, that two swords could never rest in one scabbard. Soliman could not be satisfied with a share of the government, and therefore nothing was settled between the brothers. This irritated Mahommed so much that he resolved to compel Ferid to the measures which he himself had proposed. Ferid being informed of this resolution, began to provide for his own security; but news arriving of the emperor Ibrahim's defeat and death, the whole country was thrown into confusion.

He obtains the title of Shere Chan.

Ferid resolved not to lie idle in the midst of the troubles which ensued. He joined Pâr Chan, the son of Diria Lohani who had subdued Behar, and assumed the royal dignity, under the name of

of Mahommed, or Mahmood. As that monarch was one day on a hunting party, he roused an enormous tiger; which Ferid immediately attacked, and killed with one blow of his sabre. For this bold action, which was done in Mahmood's presence, he was honoured with the title of Shere Chan*. Shere rose gradually to great influence and favour, in Mahmood's service. He was even appointed tutor to his son, Jellâl. He in the mean time requested permission to go to his estate, but he was detained there by business till his leave of absence expired. Mahmood, dissatisfied with this behaviour, reproached him, one day in public, with breach of promise; and Mahommed, of the family of Soor, being present, took that opportunity of accusing him of treasonable designs, and with favouring the interest of Mahmood, the son of the emperor Secunder. The Sultan was, by this means, so incensed against him, that he intimated, at the time, a design to deprive him of this estate, and to confer it upon his brother Soliman, as a just punishment for his offence, and the only thing that could bring him to a proper sense of his duty. A.D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Mahmood, however, having a great esteem for Shere, against whom nothing was yet proved, laid aside the violent measure to which he was instigated by Mahommed. He, at the same time, by way of alarming him, gave orders to his accuser to enquire into his father's estate, and make an equal division of it among all the brothers. Mahommed, glad of this order, sent one of his servants to Shere, to acquaint him that his brothers, according to the king's commands, were to have their proportionable dividends of the estate which he Proceedings against him.

* Shere signifies a lion.

A.D. 1542. Hig. 949.

he had hitherto so unjustly with-held from them. Shere returned for answer, that Mahommed was very much mistaken in this matter. That there were no hereditary estates in India, among Mahommedans, for that all lands belonged to the king, which he disposed of at pleasure. That as he himself had a personal grant of his estate, his brethren were entirely out of the question. That he, however, had already consented to give to his brother Soliman a part of the money and moveables, according to law.

Shere attacked.

When the messenger returned with this answer to Mahommed, who was then at Chond, he was enraged at so flat a denial, and raising all his forces, sent them against Shere under the command of Shadi, his adopted slave, accompanied by Shere's brothers, Soliman and Ahmed. Shadi's orders were to take possession of the country, and to leave a force with Soliman to protect him in the estate. This resolution being quickly taken, Shere had no time to collect his people; but, upon the first alarm, he wrote to one Malleck, his deputy in the district of Chawasspoor Tandah, to harass the enemy with what troops he had, but to avoid an action till he joined him in person. But Malleck, desirous to distinguish himself, gave them battle, and lost his life and the victory. This unexpected disaster weakened Shere so much, that he was in no condition to oppose Mahommed; he therefore evacuated the country and fled to Junied Birlass, governor of Kurrah and Maneckpor, on the part of the emperor Baber. He made Birlass a handsome present, was taken into favour, and obtained a body of troops to recover his country. With these he defeated Mahommed, who fled to the mountains of Rotas, so that he not only possessed himself of his own country, but added several other districts to his jagier, which

Defeats Mahommed.

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he now held of the Mogul emperor, Baber. Having rewarded the Moguls who had assisted him, he permitted them to return to their master. He, at the same time, levied troops, and was joined by his former friends, who had fled to the hills, which rendered him very formidable in those parts. A.D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Shere having thus established himself in his estate, performed an act of generosity, which, if it was not intended to deceive the world, does him much honour. He recalled his enemy Mahommed, who had fled, and put him in possession of his former estate. This generous treatment converted his greatest enemy into one of his best friends. Shere having settled his affairs, left his brother Nizam in charge of his country, and paid a visit to his benefactor Junied Birlass, at Kurrah. Birlass was then going to Agra, and Shere resolved to accompany him thither. He was, upon this occasion, introduced to the emperor Baber, and attended that prince in his expedition to Chinderi. His generosity to him.

After Shere had staid some time in the Mogul camp, and observed their manners and policy, he one day told a friend, that he thought it would be an easy matter to drive those foreigners out of Hindostan. His friend asked him, what reason he had to think so? Shere replied, "That the "king himself, though a man of great parts, was "but very little acquainted with the policy of "Hindostan; and that the minister, who held the "reins of government, would be too much biassed in favour of his own interest, to mind "that of the public. That therefore if the Patans, who were now at enmity among them"selves, could be brought to mutual concord, the "work was completed; and should fortune ever "favour him, he imagined himself equal to the "task, however difficult it might at present appear." His opinion concerning the Moguls.

A.D. 1542. Hig. 949.

"pear." His friend burst out into a loud laugh, and began to ridicule this vain opinion. Shere, a few days after, had, at the king's table, some solid dishes set before him, with only a spoon to eat them. He called for a knife, but the servants had orders not to supply him with one. Shere, not to lose his dinner, drew his dagger, without ceremony, and cutting up his meat, made a hearty meal, without minding those who diverted themselves at this odd behaviour. When he had done, the king, who had been remarking this matter, turned to Amir Chalifa, and said, "This Afghan is not to be disconcerted with "trifles, and is likely to be a great man.

He privately withdraws.

Shere perceiving, by these words, that the king had been informed of his private discourse to his friend, fled the camp that night, and went to his own estate. He wrote from thence to his benefactor Juneid Birlass, that as Mahommed had prevailed on Mahmood, king of Behar, to send troops against his jagier, he had in haste left the king's camp, without waiting upon him for leave. He by this means amused Junied Birlass, prevented his chastising him, and at the same time made up matters with Mahmood, with whom he became a greater favourite than before.

Shere manages the government of Behar.

Mahmood of Behar dying a short time after, was succeeded by his son Jellal, a minor. The young prince's mother, the Sultana Dudu, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices in the government upon Shere. The Sultan dying soon after, the administration fell wholly into the hands of Shere. Allum, the governor of Badgipoor, on the part of Mahmood, king of Bengal, being guilty of some misdemeanour, threw himself under Shere's protection. Mahmood, to revenge this insult, ordered Cuttup, governor of Mongier, with a great force against Behar. As

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the forces of Behar were inconsiderable, in comparison of those of Bengal, Shere made many overtures for accommodating differences, but to no effect. Finding no arguments could prevail but the sword, he resolved to stand the unequal encounter, in which his superior skill and bravery acquired him a complete victory. Cuttub was slain, and all his treasure, elephants, and camp equipage taken, which greatly advanced the political designs of Shere. A.D. 1542. Hig. 949.

After this victory, the Patan tribe of Lohani, the cousins of Jellal, the young king of Behâr, envying the fortune of Shere, formed a conspiracy to take away his life. Shere discovered the plot, taxed Jellal with it, who was privy to the conspiracy, being very jealous of the great influence of his minister. He told, on this occasion, to the young prince, that there was no necessity of taking such a base method of getting quit of his servant, for that if he should but once signify his inclination, Shere was ready to resign that government, which he lately so successfully protected. The prince, either suspecting his sincerity, or being equally suspicious of the other omrahs, would by no means consent to his resignation. This so much disgusted the conspirators, that they took every possible measure to make a breach between the prince and his minister. Shere, finding that he had no security, but in maintaining his power, by the unlimited use he made of it, justly excited the prince's jealousy to such a pitch, that, one night, accompanied by his omrahs, he fled to Mahmood, of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Shere, who had usurped his throne. A plot against his life.

Mahmood, joining his compassion for the young prince, to his personal hatred to Shere, sent Ibrahim, the son of that Cuttub whom Shere had Mahmood of Bengal attacks Shere.

A.D. 1542. Hig. 949. had formerly defeated, with a considerable army against the usurper. The Bengalians besieged Shere in a mud fort, for a long time, without success; so that Ibrahim was obliged to send home for succours. Shere being informed of this circumstance, came out, offered battle, and, by means of a common stratagem, ordering his troops to fly at the first onset, to draw the enemy into an ambush, defeated them, and took all their guns and elephants. Ibrahim himself was slain in the action, and the young prince Jellâl fled in great distress to Bengal.

All Behar submits to him. Shere, by this victory, became lord of all Behar, and grew daily more and more formidable. One Taji was, at this time, governor of the strong fort of Chinâr, which he had held for himself ever since the death of Ibrahim Lodi, emperor of Hindostan. His wife Ladi Malleki, who was barren, yet for whom he had a very great affection, being envied by his other wives, by whom he had children, they instigated their sons to make away with her. But one of the sons, who had undertaken the murder, missed his blow, and only inflicted a slight wound. Taji, alarmed by her cries, came to her assistance, and drew his sword to kill his son. The son, seeing no means to escape, assaulted his father, and slew him. The sons of Taji were yet too young to be entrusted with the government, and Ladi Malleki drew the reins into her own hands, by her address among the chiefs and zemindars. Shere, informed of these transactions, set a treaty of marriage on foot with Ladi Malleki, which was soon concluded. Shere seized upon Chinâr and the dependent districts, which was a great acquisition to his power, there being a considerable treasure in the place.

Much

Much about this time, Mahmood, the son of the emperor Secunder Lodi, having taken protection with Rana Sinka, by his assistance, and that of Hassen of Mewat, advanced against the emperor Baber, and was defeated, as we have already seen, at Janveh. Mahmood flying to Chitor, was from thence invited by the chiefs of the tribe of Lodi, who were gathered together at Patna, and by them proclaimed king. He made himself soon master of all Behar. Shere perceiving that he could not draw the omrahs over from Mahmood's interest, and that he had not sufficient force to oppose him, submitted to his authority, and, by that means, saved a part of Behar, which the Sultan permitted him to retain. Mahmood told him, at the same time, that if he should effectually assist him in recovering Jionpoor from the Moguls, he would return Behar to him; and a contract to that effect was drawn up and executed between them. A.D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Shere, some time after, obtained leave to return to Sehsaram, to levy troops, and Mahmood marching with an army against the Moguls, sent him orders to join. But as Shere delayed for some time, the Sultan, persuaded by his omrahs that he was playing a loose game, marched his army through Shere's estate, on his way to Jionpoor. Shere came out to meet him, had an elegant entertainment provided for his reception, and then marched with him to Jionpoor. The troops of the emperor Humaioon evacuated the province upon their approach, so that the Afghans took possession of the country as far as Lucknore. Shere obtains leave to visit his jagier.

Humaioon lay, at this time, before Callinger, and having heard of the progress of the Afghans, he marched against them. Mahmood having, on this occasion, given a superior command to Bein Baezîd, Shere, who thought himself ill-used, He betrays Mahmood.

 betrayed

A.D. 1542. Hig. 949. betrayed his master, and wrote a private letter, the night before the action, to Hindoo Beg, one of the Mogul generals, acquainting him, "That "he esteemed himself a servant of Baber's family, "to whom he owed his advancement, and that "he would be the cause of defeating the Afghans "next day." He drew off his troops in the action, which occasioned Mahmood's defeat, for which service he was greatly favoured by Humaioon. Mahmood, after this defeat, retreated to Patna, retired from the world, and, in the year nine hundred and forty-nine, died in Orissa.

Refuses to give up Chinâr to Humaioon. Humaioon, after this victory, returned to Agra, and sent the noble Hindoo Beg to Shere, to take possession of the fort of Chinâr. Shere excused himself, and obliged Hindoo Beg to retreat. Humaioon returned immediately with his whole army to besiege Chinâr, and, having invested it, he received a letter from Shere, acquainting him, "That he esteemed himself one of the servants "of the house of Baber, from whom he first "obtained a government; and that he had expressed his fidelity, by being the occasion of "the late victory. That, therefore, if the king "would permit him to retain the government of "the fort, he was willing to pay him the proper "revenues of the lands which he held, and "would send his son, Cuttub, with five hundred "horse, to be maintained at his own expence, in "the emperor's service." As at this juncture the affairs of Guzerat, by the conquests of Bahadur, required the king's presence, and considering also the strength of Chinâr, Humaioon consented to these terms, and, accordingly, being joined by Cuttub, the son of Shere, with five hundred horse, he marched towards Bahadur. The king, however, had scarcely reached Guzerat, when Cuttub deserted with his horse, and returned

returned to his father. Shere immediately raised what forces he could, and reduced Behar. Not satisfied with his success, he pursued his fortune, and penetrated into the heart of Bengal, having fought with the omrahs of that country several sharp battles, before he could make himself master of the passes, which were defended a whole month.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Mahmood of Bengal shut himself up in Gour, the capital, which Shere for a long time besieged. One of the zemindars of Behar having raised a disturbance, he left Chawass to carry on the siege, and returned himself to Behar. Provisions becoming at length very scarce in Gour, Mahmood fled in a boat to Hadjipoor; and Shere, having settled affairs in Behar, returned and pursued him. Mahmood being necessitated to give battle, was defeated, and being wounded in the engagement, fled his kingdom, which immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Besieges Gour.

Humaioon, returning from his expedition to Guzerat, thought it necessary to put a stop to the rising power of Shere. He for that purpose turned towards the reduction of Chinâr. Jellal, a son of Shere, who commanded there, left the defence of the place to Ghazi, of the Soor tribe of Afghans, and retired to the hills of Bercundah, from whence he very much annoyed the besiegers. The siege had been carried on six months, when Rumi Chan, who commanded the king's artillery, by some kind of a floating battery, which he sent down the river close to the wall, reduced the place. Humaioon left two hundred soldiers in garrison there, and marched towards Bengal. Mahmood, who, as we have already observed, was wounded in the action with Shere, threw himself under the protection of Humaioon. When the king had advanced to the pass of Gurhi, which is the frontier of Bengal, he found that

Humaioon turns his arms against him.

A. D. 1542. Hig. 949. that Shere had sent his son Jellal, Chawass, and a good detachment, to guard that defile. The king sent Kulli, and some other chiefs, to dislodge them; but they were repulsed in several attacks. Being, however, supported by more troops, and the whole army appearing in sight, a successful assault was made, and the Moguls became masters of the pass. Jellal fled to his father Shere at Gour, who, being in no condition to engage so superior a force, evacuated that capital, carried off all his wealth to the mountains of Jarcund, and began to project a scheme for possessing himself of Rhotas, that he might there lodge his family and wealth in security.

Shere, by a stratagem, takes the impregnable fortress of Rhotas.

To take Rhotas by open force was an impossible attempt. It was therefore necessary to devise some stratagem, by which success might be hoped. Shere, for this purpose, sent a message to Raja Berkis, who was in possession of this impregnable fortress, and told him, "That as he himself was going to attempt the recovery of Bengal, he hoped, from their former friendship, that he would permit him to send his family and treasure into the place, with a few attendants." Berkis at first rejected this request; but Shere sent an artful ambassador to him, a second time, with some handsome presents, acquainting him, "That it was only for his women and treasure he requested his princely protection: That should he be fortunate enough to conquer Bengal, he would make proper acknowledgements for the favour on his return; but if he should lose his life in the contest, he rather chose that his family and wealth should fall into the hands of Berkis, than into those of the Moguls, his inveterate enemies." Berkis, suffering himself to be deluded by his avarice, determined, when once in possession of the treasure, to keep it, and therefore consented to Shere's request. The Afghan having

having provided covered chairs*, filled them all, except two or three, which were to go first, with armed men and arms. 'He, at the same time, filled five hundred money bags with leaden bullets, and appointed some of his best soldiers to carry them, in the disguise of slaves, with sticks in their hands, who were destined in appearance to help to carry the treasure up the mountain. The men who carried the close chairs were disguised in the same manner. This train accordingly set out, and the first and second chair being examined at the gate, were found to contain only old women, so farther examination was neglected. The raja was, in the mean time, busy in counting the bags, which he now reckoned part of his own fortune. When the chairs had reached the house which the raja had appointed, the wolves rushed out among the sheep, and begun to dye the fold with their blood. The porters used their staves,' till they supplied themselves with arms from the chairs. They easily mastered the garrison, who were off their guard, and admitted Shere, who was encamped at a small distance. Berkis himself, with a few followers, found means to escape into the woods, by a private passage behind the fort. A. D. 1541. Hig. 949.

Thus fell one of the most impregnable fortresses in the world into the hands of Shere, together with much treasure, which had been accumulating there for ages. The merit of the invention of this stratagem is not due to Shere. The fort of Asere, in the Decan, was, long before taken in the same manner, by Nasir Faroki, the imperial governor of Chandez.

Rhotas is built upon the level top of a mountain; the only entrance to it is a very narrow road, through a steep ascent of two miles from Description of Rhotas.

 the

* The same with our sedan chairs.

A.D. 1542. Hig. 949. the foot of the hill to the gates, which are three in number, one above another, defended by guns and rolling-stones. The square contents of the fortified table land, on the top of the mountain, is more than ten miles. In this space are contained towns, villages, and corn fields, and water is found a few feet from the surface. On one side runs the river Sone, under an immense precipice, and another river, in the same manner, passes close to the other side, and both meeting a little below, form the hill into a triangular peninsula. There is a very deep valley on the third side, full of impervious woods, which spread all over the mountains, and render access that way next to impossible.

Shere Shere had now a secure retreat for his family, and his friends began to acquire fresh spirits by this piece of success. Humaioon, in the mean time, spent three months in luxurious pleasures, in Gour, the capital of Bengal. He there received advices that his brother prince Hindal had revolted in his governments of Agra and Mewat; that he had put to death Shech Phoul, the only man of consequence, who would not break his allegiance to the emperor, and coined money in his own name. Humaioon therefore left Kulli, with five thousand horse, in Gour, and returned towards Agra.

overthrows Humaioon. By the excessive rains, and bad roads, the king's cavalry and beasts of burthen perished in great numbers on his march, through fatigue and want of forage. Shere, who had now raised a numerous army, entrenched himself on the banks of the Jossa, in a place by which the king must of necessity pass, and by treachery defeated him with great slaughter, in the manner which we have already related. Shere did not immediately push forward to the capital. Anxious to leave no enemy behind him, he returned

to

to Bengal, engaged Kulli in several battles, defeated him, and at length cut him and his army to pieces. A.D. 1542. Hig. 949.

Shere, immediately after the reduction of Bengal, assumed the imperial title of Shaw, struck the coin, and read the chutba in his own name. He marched the next year with a great army towards Agra. The unfortunate Humaioon was, by this time, deserted by his brother the prince Camiran, and hated by his Mogul omrahs, on account of his attention to his Turkuman mercenaries. He, however, crossed the river with one hundred thousand horse, and met Shere, who had but fifty thousand. Shere, as we have already mentioned, defeated Humaioon, and pursued him to Agra, Lahore, and Choshâb; from which place the king retreated towards the Indus. Assumes the imperial title.

Ismael, Ghazi, Fatti, and Billoca Duda, all governors of various provinces in that country, acknowledged the title of Shere. In his progress, observing a hill among the mountains of Belnat, proper for a fortress, he ordered one to be built, which he named Rhotas. Chawass Chan, his faithful servant, to whose bravery and conduct he owned himself greatly indebted for his fortune, was now made captain general, with a pension of a tenth of the royal revenue.

Having left the captain general, and Hybut Neazi, with a great army, in the north west, the emperor Shere returned towards Agra. He was in that city informed, that Chizer, whom he had left in the government of Bengal, had married the daughter of Mahmood, the former king of that province, and held the state of a sovereign prince. Having experienced, in his own fortune, the danger of permitting such behaviour to go unpunished, he marched immediately to Bengal. Chizer, being unexpectedly surprised, submitted Reduces the suba of Bengal.

A.D. 1543. Hig. 950. mitted without trouble, and was imprisoned. Shere very prudently divided the kingdom of Bengal among a number of chiefs, independent of one another, and appointed Kasi Fazilit, a native of Kurrah, famous for his learning and policy, to superintend the whole. He himself, after these transactions, retired to Agra.

Reduces Malava. In the year nine hundred and forty-nine, Shere made a motion towards Malava. Having advanced as far as Gualier, Suja the Afghan, who had before invested the place on the part of Shere, found means to settle matters with Abul Casim, governor of Gualier, for Humaioon, and he delivered up that strong fortress into his hands. Shere having entered Malava, Mullu, the Mogul governor of that province, submitted without a blow. Being, however, a few days after, alarmed by something, he fled from the king's camp, and Hadjee Chan was appointed to that government; Suja had also a jagier conferred upon him in that country. Shere having marched from thence to Rintimpore, Mullu fell upon the governor of Malava, and upon Suja, but he was defeated. Suja having acquired all the honour of the victory, Hadjee was superseded and recalled, and the government conferred upon Suja.

Takes Rintimpore. Shere arriving before Rintimpore, had the address to get possession of that important fortress from the governor, on the part of the pretended emperor Mahmood, who had still kept it. The emperor, after taking Rintimpore, returned to Agra; he remained in that city a whole year, settling the internal police of the empire, and regulating his army. He, in the mean time, ordered Hybut to wrest Moultan from the tribe of the Bellochies. This Hybut soon effected, by defeating Fatti Bellochi, and entirely subduing that country. He had, on account of this exploit, the

the title of Azim Humaioon conferred upon him.

A.D. 1543. Hig. 950.

In the year nine hundred and fifty, Paran Mull, the son of Succleo Parbia, having reduced some neighbouring districts, kept no less than two thousand concubines and dancing girls in his haram. The king, resenting this encroachment upon the privileges of royalty, marched and invested him in the fort of Rasein. The siege being protracted for a long time, Paran began to treat about a capitulation. This was granted to him upon the honourable terms of marching out, with all his arms, treasure, family, garrison, and effects. Paran accordingly marched out with four thousand rajaputs, and trusting to the faith which had been pledged, encamped at a small distance. But Shere, who never kept the faith of treaties, was easily persuaded, by his base ministers, particularly by Amir Ruffi a Persian, infamously to violate his honour. He surrounded the rajaputs, and ordered them all to be massacred. He, however, paid very dear for this horrid piece of cruelty and treachery. The rajaputs, placing death in one eye, and revenge in the other, fought till every man of them was laid dead on the plain, and above double their number of the assassins.

He marches against Raja Paran, for keeping two thousand concubines.

Shere, after this infamous transaction, returned to Agra. Having remained there a few months, to refresh and recruit his army, he marched towards Marwâr. During his march he intrenched himself every night, as well for security, as to exercise his troops, and to make them expert in this necessary service. When he came to cross the sands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions. In this manner he entered the country of the rajah of Nagor and Todnoor, whose name was Maledo, and esteemed the most powerful Hindoo prince in India. He opposed the

He marches towards Marwâr.

A.D. 1544. Hig. 951. king with fifty thousand rajaputs, and both armies lay thirty days in sight of one another. Shere would now have been glad to retreat quietly. But the danger was too great, at the same time the enemy was so advantageously posted as to render an attack too hazardous. In the midst of this alarming situation, a successful stratagem suggested itself to the king. Maldeo having conquered that country, to which he had no right by inheritance, Shere forged a letter, in the Hindoo language and character, in the name of the raja's generals, addressed to himself, setting forth, "That, being conquered by the raja, they had, through necessity, served him till then with fidelity; but that they were, in secret, very weary of his yoke. That if Shere would, therefore reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to make him a due acknowledgment for the favour." On this letter Shere superscribed, as usual, in Persian, that they should fear nothing, desiring them to persevere in their intentions, and that they might rest assured that he would comply with their demand.

Gallant proposal of a Rajaput omrah.

This letter was purposely thrown into the way of Maldeo, who, being always in dread of his chiefs, was easily deceived. He therefore declined the battle which he intended to give that day. He was even more and more confirmed in his unjust suspicion, by the eagerness which they expressed to engage. Upon the fourth day he ordered a retreat; but Cunia, one of his principal omrahs, having found out in what manner Maldeo had been deceived by these forgeries, endeavoured to persuade him of his mistake. Having found that the raja's suspicion could not be removed, he told him, That the suspected treachery was unprecedented among true Rajaputs, and that he was determined to wipe off the stain which Maldeo had thrown upon their reputation, with

with his own blood, or the conquest of Shere, with his own tribe. A.D. 1545. Hig. 952.

Maldeo continued to retreat, but the gallant Cunia, with a few other chiefs, and ten or twelve thousand men, separated themselves from their prince, and turned back with an intent to surprize Shere's camp. They, however, by some mistake, lost their way, and it was fair day-light before they saw the enemy. Shere immediately formed, and came out against them. Though the king's army, by the smallest computation, consisted of eighty thousand fighting men, this handful of brave Rajaputs repulsed them repeatedly, and would have certainly defeated them, if Jellal Selwani had not at that instant arrived with a fresh reinforcement to join the imperial army. Shere falling upon the Rajaputs with renewed vigour, broke them; and the brave Cunia, with almost his whole army, were cut to pieces. With his own tribe attacks Shere.

Shere, finding himself in possession of a victory of which he had at one time despaired, exclaimed, "That, for a handful of barley, he had almost "given the empire of India to the wind." This grain, it seems, was all the scanty produce of that sandy country, for which the inhabitants fought with so much obstinacy. Maldeo having heard of this action, and the loss of so many brave men, fell into deep affliction; and being, for his pusillanimity, deserted by the greatest part of his army, he retreated among the mountains of Sodpoor. Remarkable saying of Shere.

Shere, after this bloody victory, turned his army towards the fort of Chitor, which was surrendered to him by capitulation. He then directed his march to Rintimpoor, and gave that country in jagier to his son Adil Chan, who fixed his residence there. The king, in person, moved towards Callinger, which is esteemed one of the Shere takes Chitor.

A.D. 1545. Hig. 952.

strongest forts in Hindostan. The Indian prince of Callinger, on account of the king's treacherous behaviour to Paran Mull, would make no submission, but prepared himself for hostilities. Shere, having drawn a line of circumvallation, began to carry on his approaches to the place; he raised mounds of earth for his artillery, and sunk mines under the rock. The royal batteries were now advanced very near the walls, breaches were made, and a general assault ordered, when a live shell, which had been thrown against the fort by the imperialists, rebounded back into the battery in which the king stood. The shell burst in the midst of a quantity of powder, which had not been properly secured. Several gunners were blown up; the king, and many of his omrahs, were burnt in so terrible a manner, that they were carried for dead to their tents.

Burnt by the blowing up of powder.

Dies.

In this dreadful condition the king began to breathe in great agonies; he, however, encouraged the continuance of the attack, and gave orders, till in the evening news was brought him of the reduction of the place. He then cried out, "Thanks to the Almighty God!" and expired. The death of Shere happened on the twelfth of the first Ribbi, in the year nine hundred and fifty-two. He spent fifteen years in a military life before he mounted the throne; and he sat upon the musnud five years as emperor of Hindostan.

His character.

The character of Shere is almost equally divided between virtue and vice. Public justice prevailed in the kingdom, while private acts of treachery dishonoured the hands of the king. He seemed to have made breach of faith a royal property, which he would by no means permit his subjects to share with him. We ought, perhaps, to ascribe this vice to the ambition of Shere. Had he been born to the throne, he might have been

just, as he was valiant and politic in war: had he confined his mind to his estate, he might merit the character of a virtuous chief; but his great soul made him look up to the empire, and he cared not by what steps he was to ascend. A.D. 1545. Hig. 952.

Shere left many monuments of his magnificence behind him. From Bengal and Sennargaum, to that branch of the Indus called the Nilâb, which is fifteen hundred crores *, he built caravanseras at every stage, and dug a well at the end of every crore. Besides, he raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran and Priests. He ordered that, at every stage, all travellers, without distinction of country or religion, should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expence. He, at the same time, planted rows of fruit-trees along the roads, to preserve travellers from the scorching heat of the sun, as well as to gratify their taste. Horse-posts were placed at proper distances for forwarding quick intelligence to government, and for the advantage of trade and correspondence. This establishment was new in India. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to sleep on the highway. His magnificence.

It is said that Shere being told that his beard grew white, replied, it was true, that he had obtained the empire towards the evening. He divided his time into four equal parts: one he appropriated to the distribution of public justice, one to the regulations of his army, one to worship, and the remainder to rest and recreation. He was buried at Sessaram, his original estate, in a mag- His attention to business.

* About three thousand of our miles.

A.D. 1545. Hig. 952. a magnificent sepulchre which he had built in the middle of a great reservoir of water *.

State of Asia. Tamasp still sat on the throne of Persia, and reigned in peace, during the usurpation of Shere in Hindostan.

* This fine monument of the magnificence of Shere still remains entire. The artificial lake, which surrounds it, is not much less than a mile in length.

SELIM.

SELIM.

WHEN Shere became numbered with the dead, his eldest son, Adil, whom he had appointed his successor, was at Rintimpore, and his younger son, Jellal, in the village of Rewin, near Pheta. The omrahs, who favoured Jellâl more than his brother, then at so great a distance, pretended the necessity of filling the throne as soon as possible. They, for that purpose, dispatched expresses to Jellâl, who arrived in five days in the camp. Jellâl, by the influence of Isah Chan, and his party, mounted the throne, in the fortress of Callinger, upon the seventeenth of the first Ribbi, in the year nine hundred and fifty-two, and assumed the title of Islam Shaw, which, by false pronunciation, was turned to that of Selim, by which name he is more generally known. Selim, having taken upon him the imperial dignity, wrote to his elder brother, in the following words: "Adil being at so great "a distance, and I so near, to prevent disturb-"ance, I took upon me the command of the "army till his return. But my intentions are "only to forward my brother's interest, and to "support his authority." Jellal, after writing this letter, marched from Callinger towards Agra, and at Kurrah was met by Chawass, captain-general of his father's forces, who renewed the ceremonies of royalty, and placed Selim a second time on the throne, holding a magnificent festival

A. D. 1545. Hig. 952.

Jellam mounts the throne by the name of Selim.

A.D. 1545. Hig. 952.

festival upon that occasion. From Kurrah, Selim wrote another letter to his brother, begging, in the most affectionate terms, that he would come and see him.

His elder brother writes about the succession.

Adil wrote to the chiefs in the court of Selim, particularly to Cuttub, Isah, Chawass, and Jellal Salwani, to know to what purpose he was invited, and what he was to hope from them. He, at the same time, returned to his brother for answer, "That, if he would send these four chiefs "to him, with proper assurances, he would "come." Selim sent accordingly the four omrahs to Adil, to assure him, in the most solemn manner, that he would permit him, if he pleased, to depart after the first interview: but that, as the omrahs had invested him with the imperial power, he could not be so ungrateful as to desert them. However, to make some compensation to Adil for the empire, he was determined to give him his choice of any of the provinces in free jagier. Adil, upon these assurances, proceeded to Agra. When he had reached the village of Sikri*, Selim was out on a hunting party near that place, and appointed carpets to be spread for their interview. Here the brothers dissembled the greatest affection for one another, and after some discourse set out for Agra. Selim, who wanted to seize his brother, gave private orders, that only a few of his retinue should be admitted into the citadel; but Adil had also given orders to his people to press in, at all hazards, which they accordingly did, in spite of every opposition.

Transactions in the palace.

Selim saw, that, without running a great risque, nothing could be effected against his brother, who was so much upon his guard. He, therefore,

* Now Fattepoor.

A.D. 1545. Hig. 952.

therefore, had recourse to flattery and dissimulation. He even proceeded so far as to lay hold of Adil's hand, to place him upon the throne. Adil, who was naturally a timorous and indolent man, rejected this proposal, knowing how little he had to trust from the omrahs, and a deceitful, ambitious brother. Selim was well aware of all this before he made this extraordinary offer.

Adil makes a solemn resignation of the empire.

Just as Selim expected, so it fell out; Adil, intimidated by the disturbance which had been made at the gate, made a voluntary resignation of his birthright, and, placing Selim on the throne, saluted him emperor. This was instantly followed by all the court, who were waiting with impatience the issue of this extraordinary farce. They immediately advanced to the throne in succession, and, according to their rank, presented their nazirs*, while others exhibited the ceremony of the isar†, crying out aloud, "We "offer our lives and fortunes to the king!" The ceremonies being ended, Cuttub, and the other omrahs, who had passed their words to Adil, requested, that, as he had pitched upon Biana for his estate, he, according to promise, should be regularly invested with that province, and permitted to depart. Selim consented; and all matters being settled, he gave Adil leave to quit Agra, accompanied by Isah and Chawass.

Chawass kindles a rebellion in favour of Adil.

But, after two months, Selim gave to Ghazi Malhi, one of his eunuchs, a pair of golden fetters,

* Offerings made upon public occasions to the emperor.

† Isar, or Tessiduck, is a ceremony used upon the accession of a prince to the throne; the omrahs running three times round the king, waving an offering of money, in a charger, three times over the monarch's head. This money is afterwards delivered over to the royal almoner, to be distributed in charity, as indeed are all offerings made to the emperor.

A.D. 1545. Hig. 952. ters, to go and bring Adil prisoner to court. Adil having timeous intelligence of this design against him, set out for Mewat, where the captain general then resided. He acquainted that omrah, with tears, of his brother's baseness. Chawass, whose honour was concerned in this affair, was roused with compassion for the unfortunate prince. He seized upon Ghazi Mahli, placed his fetters upon his own legs, and exalted the spear of rebellion against Selim.

The interest of Chawass was great among the omrahs. He wrote to them private letters, and brought many over to his party. A great army was soon raised, and Chawass, with Adil and Isah, marched towards Agra. He, upon his way, received letters from Cuttub and Jellal, who thought themselves dishonoured by the king's behaviour towards his brother, assuring him of their assistance.

Selim in great perplexity.

When the confederate chiefs arrived before Agra, Selim, at the unexpected visit, was thrown into the utmost perplexity. He called Cuttub and Jellal to his presence, and reproached them for not dissuading him from that impolitic step which had drawn upon him such dangerous consequences. Cuttub replied, "That the business was not yet irremediable; that he would undertake to settle every thing in an amicable manner." Selim, not suspecting the fidelity of the two omrahs, immediately desired that they should go to Adil, and compromise affairs. When they were gone, Selim discovered to his friends his intentions of flying to Chinâr, where the treasure was lodged, and there to raise an army to reduce his brother, whom he was not at present in a condition to oppose. Isah Hujab dissuaded him from this resolution. He told him, "That he had with him ten thousand Chermalli Patans, who had served under him before he ascended the throne,

throne, whom he could not suspect of disaffection, besides many other faithful servants. That, therefore, it was the height of folly to trust the empire, which God had given him, to the future caprice of fortune, when he had it in his power to defend it instantly in the field. Do not, said Isah, throw away the friends whom you have acquired in your prosperity, with a vain hope to pick up others in the season of distress. The wisest course for you, continued the omrah, is to appear at the head of your troops, and to fix the foot of resolution on the field of war. This will secure your wavering troops, and intimidate the enemy." A.D. 1545. Hig. 951.

Selim, encouraged by this bold advice, resolved to stand his ground. He immediately dispatched a message to Cuttub, and the other omrahs, who had not yet set out to accommodate matters with Adil, and commanded them to his presence. He told them, that having altered his mind, he was resolved not to trust his faithful omrahs in the hands of his enemies. He forthwith ordered his troops to their arms, marched out of the city, and formed his army on the plain. The omrahs, who had promised to favour the prince Adil, seeing their king in the field, ashamed to betray him, were necessitated to fight, which greatly disconcerted Chawass, who, every minute, expected they would join him. He, however, fought with great bravery, but he was overthrown. Over-throws his brother.

Adil, after this unfortunate battle, fled towards Patna; but he soon disappeared, and was never heard of afterwards. Chawass and Isah fled to Mewat. Selim sent an army in pursuit of those omrahs, but they came off victorious, at Firospoor. The imperial army being soon after reinforced, the rebel chiefs were obliged to re- Adil disappears.

treat

A.D. 1545. Hig. 952.

treat among the mountains of Cumaoon. Selim sent Cuttub in pursuit of them, and he plundered all the countries lying about the skirts of the hills, without effecting any thing against them. Selim, after these transactions, marched to Chinar. On the way, he was informed of the treasonable correspondence of Jellal with the prince Adil, before the late decisive battle, and ordered him to be put to death, together with his brother, who was concerned in the conspiracy. The king having arrived at Chinâr, he took out of that fortress all the treasure, sent it to Gualier, and returned himself to Agra. Cuttub, finding that Selim was no stranger to the part which he had acted in the late disturbances, was afraid to return to court. He fled, therefore, to Hybut, governor of Lahore, known by the title of Azim Humaioon, and claimed his protection. The emperor dispatched orders to Lahore, to send Cuttub to Agra, with which Azim Humaioon complied. The unfortunate Cuttub, upon his arrival, was sent prisoner to Gualier, with many other suspected persons, particularly Shebas Lohani, the king's brother-in-law, whose eyes were put out. The governor of Lahore and Suja, who ruled over the province of Malava, were, much about this time, called to court. The first excused himself, and the latter, obeying the summons, had the address to clear himself of what he was accused, and so was reinstated in his government.

Rebellions quashed.

The king, after these transactions, moved towards Rhotas, to bring the treasure, which his father had deposited in that place, to Agra. Seid, the brother of Humaioon, governor of Lahore, deserted him on the way, and fled to Lahore. The king, from this circumstance, concluded that a rebellion was in agitation, which determined

determined him to return immediately to Agra. He soon assembled his forces from all quarters, and marched to Delhi, where he ordered the new city which the emperor Humaioon had built, to be walled in with stone. At Delhi, Suja joined him with the army from Malava. The king remained only a few days in Delhi to regulate his army, and then took the route of Lahore. Azim Humaioon, Chawass, and other disaffected chiefs, with double the king's forces, came out before him at Ambatta. Selim arriving within sight of the rebels, dismounted, and, with a few friends, ascended a rising ground for the purpose of reconnoitring; when he had for some time viewed their disposition, he said: "it is not consistent with my honour to have any patience with a rebellious army," and, at these words, he ordered his line to be formed, and to advance against them. It happened very fortunately for the affairs of Selim, that, upon the preceding night, there had arisen a dispute among the rebel generals, about the succession to the throne. Chawass, still a friend to the family of his patron Shere, insisted that search should be made for prince Adil, and Azim Humaioon strenuously affirmed, "That the empire was no man's inheritance, but should always follow the fortune of the sword." This plainly pointed out his own views. On this head, animosity and faction arose, so that as soon as the rebels had formed the line, Chawass retreated, with all his troops, without striking a blow. This circumstance so much discouraged the remaining part of the rebels, that their resistance was faint, and an unexpected victory fell to Selim. A.D. 1548. Hig. 955.

But, in the midst of this tide of good fortune, the emperor narrowly escaped with his life, from a da- An attempt upon the life of Selim.

A.D. 1548. Hig. 955. a daring attempt of Seid, the brother of Azim Humaioon. This gallant chief, with ten of his friends in armour, mixed, without discovery, with the king's troops, and advanced towards him, as if they were about to congratulate him upon his victory. An elephant-driver, who stood near the king, observed and knew Seid, and struck him with his spear: yet, in spite of all the guards, and the army which stood round, Seid and his party cut their way through, sword in hand, and escaped. The rebels, who called themselves the Neazies, being mostly of that family, retreated, after this defeat, to Dincot, near Rop, in the mountains, Selim pursuing them as far as the new fort of Rhotas, which his father had built. He, from thence, detached Chaja Serwani, with a strong force after them, and returned himself to Agra, and from thence soon after proceeded to Gualier. Suja, governor of Malava, going one day up to the fort before the king, one Osmân, a person whom Suja had deprived of his right hand some time before, had concealed himself by the side of the road, with a desperate intention to be revenged upon that omrah. The assassin rushed out upon Suja, and inflicted a wound with his dagger. Suja, without inquiring into the matter, imagined that the whole was done by the instigation of the king, and therefore fled, with great precipitation, and made his way towards Malava, with all his forces. The king pursued him as far as Mundu, but hearing that he had fled to Banswalla, he returned, leaving his own cousin, with twenty thousand horse, at Ugein, to observe his motions. This happened in the year nine hundred and fifty-four.

Chaja defeated by the Neazi rebels.

Chaja Serwani having been some time before left to carry on the war against the Neazi rebels, engaged

engaged them near Dincot, and was defeated by Azim Humaioon, who pursued him as far as Sirhind. Selim hearing of this defeat, assembled a great army, and dispatched it, under proper generals, against the rebels. Azim Humaioon was obliged to retreat in his turn to Dincot. The rebels turned upon the imperial army at Simbollo, but were overthrown with great slaughter. Azim Humaioon's mother, and all his family, were taken prisoners. The Neazi rebels, after this defeat, threw themselves under the protection of the Gickers among the mountains bordering on Cashmire. Selim, finding that he could never have rest in peace without effectually quashing this rebellion, marched in person towards the Indus, and for the space of two years carried on a war with the Gickers who supported the Neazies. A.D. 1548. Hig. 950.

In this expedition a person concealed himself in the narrow path, by which the emperor one day ascended the mountain of Mannicot, and rushed upon him with a drawn sword. Selim, having time to draw, saved himself, and killed the assassin, and perceived that his sword was one that he himself had formerly presented to Eckbal Chan. The Gickers being driven from one place to another, without being in a condition to face the emperor, Azim Humaioon, with his followers, went into the kingdom of Cashmire; but the prince of that country, fearing Selim's resentment, opposed the rebels, and, having defeated them, sent the heads of Azim Humaioon, his brother Seid, and Shabass to the king. Selim being now secured against further disturbance from that quarter, returned to Delhi. The prince Camiran, much about this time, flying from his brother the emperor An attempt upon Selim's life.

 Humaioon,

A.D. 1550. Hig. 957.

Humaioon, who was now on his way from Persia, took protection under Selim. But he was very ill received by that prince, and he therefore fled to the mountains of Sewalic, among the Gickers.

Selim marches against Humaioon.

Selim, after returning from his expedition, had only remained a few days at Delhi, when he received advices, that the emperor Humaioon had reached that branch of the Indus which is distinguished by the name of the Nilâb, or the blue river. The king was at that instant drawing blood by cupping; he immediately started up, issued orders to march, and he himself encamped that evening six miles without the city. He there waited for his artillery, which was dragged by men, till the bullocks, which were grazing in the country, could be brought together. The artillery being very heavy, each gun was drawn by one or two thousand men; yet in this manner he marched, with great expedition, towards Lahore. But, in the mean time, Humaioon retreated, as we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. Selim returned to Delhi, and from thence proceeded to Gualier, where he took up his residence.

A plot against Selim's life.

Selim taking one day the diversion of the chace, near Atri, a body of banditti, who had been set on by some of the king's enemies, lay in ambush to take his life. But he perceived them time enough to avoid the snare. When they were seized and examined, they impeached many chiefs, who were immediately executed; after which the king became extremely suspicious, and put numbers to death upon small presumptions.

Chawass assassinated.

Chawass, the captain-general of the armies of Shere, of whom frequent mention has already been

been made, a man justly renowned for personal courage, strict honour, great abilities in war, and extensive generosity, being long driven about from place to place, came to Taji Kirrani, who had owed his preferment to him, and was now governed by Simbol. The ungrateful villain, in violation of his oath, and the laws of hospitality, to ingratiate himself with Selim, basely assassinated Chawass. His body being carried to Delhi, was there interred. His tomb is frequented by the devout to this day, they numbering him among the saints. A.D. 1551. Hig. 958.

Not long after this base assassination, in which Selim was concerned, he was seized with a fistula in ano, by which, in the year nine hundred and sixty, he bled to death, having reigned nine years. In the same year, Mahmood the Patan king of Guzerat, and the Nizam of the Decan, who was of the same nation, died. Selim possessed not the abilities of his father, and consequently carried neither his virtues nor his vices to such extremes. He, in some measure, suited the times in which he lived; and was rather a necessary than a good prince. A man of an upright mind might have staggered in the stream of corruption, which then prevailed, but Selim stood firm, by meeting the world in its own way. He possessed personal bravery, and was not unskilful in the field of war. Like Shere, he was magnificent, and studied the convenience of travellers. From Bengal to the Indus, he built an intermediate serai, between each of those which his father had erected; all who passed along the great road being entertained at the public expence. Selim dies. His character.

A. D. 1552. Hig. 960.

In the reign of Selim, Shech Allai, a philosopher of Biana, made a great noise in the world, by introducing a new system of religion. He called himself Emam Mendi, who is believed by some to be the last of the prophets, and will conquer the world. The impostor having raised great disturbances in the empire, converted some thousands by force and persuasion. After being twice banished by Selim, he returned, and kindled fresh troubles, and was, in the year nine hundred and fifty-five, scourged to death at Agra, by order of the king. He remained firm to his doctrine in the agonies of death; but his religion was not long maintained by his disciples.

Ferose mounts the throne.

When Selim travelled the road of mortality, his son, Ferose, was, at twelve years of age, raised to the throne by the chiefs of the tribe of Soor at Gualier. He had not reigned three days, when Mubarick, the son of Nizam Soor, nephew to the late Emperor Shere, brother of Selim's wife, and the uncle of Ferose, assassinated the young prince. Mubarick assumed the title of Mahommed Adil*, to which his infamous treason had no right, and usurped the empire. He perpetrated this barbarous deed with his own hand in the Mahl. The villain's own sister, Bibi Bai, defended, for some time, her son in her arms, presenting her body to the dagger. In vain did she intreat and weep: the wretch was hardened against pity. He tore the young prince from her arms, and, in her presence, severed his head from his body. This was the return which he made to the unfortunate Bibi Bai, for saving his life, repeated times,

Is barbarously murdered.

* Adil signifies *the Just*.

times, when Selim, foreseeing his villanies, would have put him to death. A. D. 1552. Hig. 960.

The state of Persia suffered no change during the reign of Selim in India. Tamasp continued upon the throne. State of Asia.

MAHOMMED VI.

A.D. 1552. Hig. 960.

Mahommed illiterate.

THE infamous Mahommed, having always given himself up to pleasure, neglected even the common accomplishment of reading and writing. He hated men of learning, and kept company with illiterate fellows like himself, whom he raised to the highest dignities in the empire; among whom one Himu, an Indian shopkeeper, whom the Emperor Selim had raised to be superintendant of the markets, was now entrusted with all the weight of the administration.

His foolish prodigality.

The king, in the mean time, heedless of what passed, spent his time in all the luxurious debaucheries of the Haram. Having heard much in praise of some of the former Emperors, particularly Ferose, for their great generosity, he mistook prodigality for that virtue, and to outdo them all, opened the treasury, and lavished it on good and bad without distinction. When he rode out, he used to head arrows with gold, which he shot among the multitude. This foolish extravagance soon made away with the great treasures of his predecessors; and all his reward from the people was the nickname of Adili; which, in the Indian language, signifies literally the Blind, and metaphorically, the Foolish.

The omrahs discontented.

When Himu found himself invested with the whole executive power of the empire, his pride and insolence, though otherwise a man of good parts, exceeded all bounds. This naturally made all the Patan chiefs his enemies. They began to conspire

conspire for his destruction, and to revolt from his authority. The king became more and more despicable every day in the eyes of the people, while all order and government totally declined. Mahommed giving one day public audience, and distributing estates and governments among his omrahs, he ordered the province of Kinnoge to be taken from Firmalli, and given to Sermust Sirbunna. Secunder, the son of Firmalli, a brave young man, being present, said aloud to the Emperor, "Is my fortune, then, to be conferred on a seller of dogs?" For it appears that Sermust was descended of one of that low occupation. The elder Firmalli, who was also present, endeavoured to check the impetuosity of his son; but he only inflamed his passion the more. He charged the king, in plain terms, with a base design to extirpate his family. Sermust, who was a man of uncommon strength and stature, seeing this behaviour to the king, and being also personally affronted, seized Secunder by the breast; Secunder drew his dagger, and killed him on the spot. He then flew at all those who endeavoured to oppose him, killed several chiefs, and wounded many more. He then made directly for the king, who leapt from the throne, and ran into the Mahl; Secunder pursuing him, had the door struck in his face, which stopped his progress, till Mahommed drew the bolt, and secured himself. The desperate youth, finding himself disappointed in his design upon Mahommed, resolved to revenge himself upon his base minions, and rushing back into the audience chamber, dealt death to all who opposed him, In the mean time, Ibrahim, of the tribe of Soor, the king's cousin and brother-in-law, attacked Secunder with some of his people, and cut him to pieces. Dowlat Lohani killed, at the same time, the

A.D. 1552. Hig. 960.

A.D. 1553. Hig. 961.

the good old man, Firmalli, who could not have been blamed for his son's rashness.

Taji withdraws from court.

The unfortunate Firmalli having met Taji Kerrani, as he was going that day to the presence chamber, he asked that omrah whither he was going; to which the other replied, "that affairs had taken such an extraordinary turn at court, that he was determined to push his own fortune, and would be glad that Firmalli would partake it with him." Firmalli answered, "that he aspired to no fortune but what he possessed by favour of the crown, for which he was going to pay his compliments;" but such as we have seen was his reward. Taji, as soon as he got out of the fort, took the way of Bengal, with all his dependents. Troops were dispatched to pursue him; they came up with him at Chuppera-Mow, about eighty miles from Agra, where he fought them, and made good his retreat to Chinâr. He, in his progress, seized the public money, and other effects belonging to the crown; and distributed one hundred elephants among his brothers, and other relations, who had possessions in the province of Bujipoor. By their assistance he raised a formidable army, which obliged the king to take the field, and march towards Chinâr. The insurgents meeting him upon the banks of the Ganges, above Chinâr, they were defeated and dispersed.

The King jealous of Ibrahim's popularity.

The king, becoming jealous of the popularity of Ibrahim Soor, gave private orders to seize him; but his wife, who was sister to the king, having heard of this design in the Mahl, told her husband of it. He fled from Chinâr to his father, Ghazi, governor of Biana, and was pursued by Isah Neazi, who coming up with him at Calpee, an engagement ensued, in which Isah was defeated, and driven back from further pursuit. Ibrahim, soon after, raised a great army, and possessed

possessed himself of the city of Delhi, where he mounted the throne, assumed the ensigns of royalty, marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces. A.D. 1553. Hig. 961.

Mahommed marched from Chinâr to suppress this usurpation, and, on the way, received an embassy from Ibrahim, promising that, if he would send Hussein, and other chiefs, with assurances of forgiveness, he would submit. The king was weak enough to comply with his request. The omrahs went; and Ibrahim, by presents, promises, and courteous behaviour, soon drew them over to his own interest. Mahommed, finding himself in no condition to oppose so strong a confederacy, fled towards Chinâr, and contented himself with the eastern provinces. Ibrahim immediately erected the spear of empire in the west, by the title of Sultan Ibrahim. Mahommed deserted by his omrahs.

IBRA-

IBRAHIM III.

A.D. 1553. Hig. 196.

A competitor in Punjab assumes the royal title.

IBRAHIM had no sooner mounted the throne, than another competitor started up in the province of the five rivers, known by the name of Punjab. This was Ahmed, a nephew of the Emperor Shere, and also brother-in-law to Mahommed, the expelled Emperor. Ahmed having attached to himself Hybut, and other chiefs raised to the dignity of omrahs by the late Emperor Selim, to his interest, assumed the title of Secunder Shaw, and marching with ten or twelve thousand horse towards Agra, encamped at Firrah, within four miles of that city. Ibrahim, with seventy thousand horse, came out to meet him, having in this army two hundred omrahs, who pitched velvet tents, and possessed the dignities of the spear, drum, and colours.

Secunder, seeing this formidable army, began to repent of his invasion, and made overtures of peace. The only condition he asked was the government of Punjab. But Ibrahim, puffed up with the pride of his own superiority, would grant him no terms, and therefore both armies drew up and engaged. Secunder committed all the ensigns of royalty to one of his omrahs, and, with a choice body of horse, took post among some trees, where he could not be discovered. Ibrahim, upon the first charge, broke through the army of Secunder; his troops quitted their ranks, and were intent upon nothing but plunder; when Secunder rushing out upon them, struck

struck a panic into the whole army; they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by those whom they had so easily discomfited before. The Emperor Ibrahim, after this defeat, abandoned his capital, and retreated to Simbol. Secunder took possession both of Agra and Delhi; but he had not long enjoyed his fortune, when he was obliged to march to Punjâb, to oppose the Mogul Emperor Humaioon; for that monarch, having returned from a long exile, was now advancing to recover his dominions. A.D. 1554. Hig. 962.

During the absence of Secunder, the Emperor Ibrahim marched towards Calpee; and, at the same time, Mahommed, the expelled Emperor, dispatched Himu, his vizier, with a formidable army, well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chinâr, with a view to recover his empire. Himu engaged Ibrahim at Calpee, and gave him a signal defeat. Ibrahim, flying to his father at Biana, was pursued by Himu, who besieged him in that city for three months. Himu overthrows Ibrahim.

In the mean time, Mahommed of the Afghan family of Ghor, governor of Bengal, rebelled against Mahommed, and led an army against him. This circumstance obliged that prince to recal Himu from the siege of Biana; and the Emperor Ibrahim, emboldened by the retreat of the enemy, pursued them, and coming up with Himu at Mindakir, near Agra, gave him battle; but he was again defeated, and obliged to fly back to his father at Biana. The restless spirit of Ibrahim could not, however, be still: He marched towards Bhetah, and engaging the Indian prince of that country, was defeated and taken prisoner. He was used with the utmost respect, till the Patans of Miani obtained him from the Raja, and appointed him their chief. Under him they commenced a war against Bahadar, governor The governor of Bengal rebels.

A.D. 1554. Hig. 962.

vernor of Malava, who had assumed independance; but the bad fortune of Ibrahim still pursued him, he was beat, and fled to Orissa. That province being conquered in the year nine hundred and seventy five, by Solimân Kerrani, one of the generals of the Mogul Emperor Akbar, the unfortunate Ibrahim was taken and put to death.

Himu defeats and slays the governor of Bengal.

To return from this digression; when Himu joined his master Mahommed at Chinâr, he received advices that the Emperor Humaioon had defeated Secunder, the pretended Patan Emperor, and possessed himself of Delhi and Agra. Himu, however, marched against the revolted governor of Bengal, who gave him the slip, by crossing the hills near Rhotas, and entering the country of Bundelcund. He was pursued thither by Himu: the two armies came to action at the village of Chircut, thirty miles from Calpee, and the rebel was slain. Mahommed, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Agra, returned to Chinâr, to assemble more troops for carrying on the war with Humaioon. But he was soon after informed of that monarch's death; which induced him to send Himu, with fifty thousand horse, and five hundred elephants, towards Agra, not daring to leave Chinâr himself, on account of the violent factions which then subsisted among his countrymen the Patans.

Drives the Moguls from Agra, and from Delhi.

Himu arriving before Agra, the Mogul omrahs who were there, being too weak to oppose him, fled to Delhi. He pursued them thither, and Tirdi Beg, governor of Delhi, giving him battle, was defeated, and fled towards the Indus, leaving Himu in possession of both the imperial cities of Agra and Delhi. The Indian meditated the conquest of Lahore; but the celebrated Byram, of the nation of the Turkumans, a man of policy in the closet, as well as abilities in the field, who

had been left by the will of Humaioon, guardian of his son Akbar, during his nonage, sent Zemân, a Mogul noble, with all expedition, towards Delhi. He himself followed with the young king. Himu marched out to meet Zeman, drew up on the plains of Panniput, and charging the Moguls with great bravery, threw them into disorder. But the Patans, always more mindful of plunder, than of securing victory, were again attacked by the Moguls, and defeated. Himu was surrounded and taken prisoner, and, being carried before the king, condemned to death. A. D. 1554. Hig. 962.

After the death of the unfortunate Himu, who had certainly great abilities notwithstanding his mean descent, the fortune of his master Mahommed declined apace. In the mean time, Chizer, the son of the governor of Bengal, who was slain in battle by Himu, to revenge the death of his father, raised an army, and assuming the title of Sultan Bahadar, possessed himself of a great part of the eastern provinces. He led an army against Mahommed, defeated, and slew him. The anarchy and confusions in Hindostan, at this period, rendered it impossible to continue the direct chain of our history in the order of time. We therefore must turn back to what we have omitted of the history of Secunder, who had assumed the imperial title at Agra, and afterwards to a detail of the adventures of Humaioon, during his exile. The fortune of Mahommed declines. He is defeated and slain.

Secunder, after having ascended the throne of Agra, in the year nine hundred and sixty-two, made a magnificent festival, and calling together all his chiefs, spoke to them to this effect: "I esteem myself as one of you, having thus far "acted for the common weal. I claim no superiority. Beloli raised the tribe of Lodi to an "uncommon height of glory and reputation; "Shere, Secunder's speech to the omrahs.

A.D. 1554. Hig. 962. "Shere, by unparalleled conduct and resolution, "rendered the tribe of Soor famous to all posterity; and now Humaioon, heir to his father's conquests, is watching for an opportunity to destroy us all. If, therefore, you sincerely affect my government, and will throw aside private faction and animosities, our kingdom will be adorned with all the flowers of prosperity. But if you should think me incapable of that great charge, let an abler head, and a stronger arm, be elected from among you, that I also may swear allegiance to him; that with my life and fortune I may support him, and endeavour to keep the empire of India in the hands of the Patans, who have ruled it for so many ages by their valour." The omrahs, after hearing this speech, answered with one accord, "We unanimously elect you, the nephew of our Emperor Shere, for our lawful Sovereign." Calling then for a Koran, all swore allegiance to Secunder, and to preserve unanimity among themselves. However, in a few days, they began to dispute about governments, honours, and places. The flames of enmity were kindled higher than ever, and every one reproached his fellow with perfidy, of which he himself was equally guilty.

They elect him king.

He is repeatedly defeated by the Moguls.

Humaioon, in the mean time, marched from Cabul and the side of Persia towards the Indus. Tatar, who commanded for the Patans in Punjab, fled from the new fort of Rhotas to Delhi, and the Moguls subdued all the country as far as Lahore. Secunder, upon receiving these advices, sent forty thousand horse, under the command of Tatar and Hybut, to expel the Moguls. But this army was defeated, lost all their elephants and baggage, never drawing bridle till they arrived at Delhi. Secunder, though sensible of the disaffection and factious state of his army,

army, marched with eighty thousand horse towards Punjab, and engaging Byram, the tutor of prince Ackbar, near Sirhind, was defeated, and fled towards the mountains of Sewalic. The empire of India, with this victory, fell again into the hands of the house of Baber, and flourished; while, in the mean time, the infamous Mahommed Adil died by the hands of his enemies in the kingdom of Bengal. A.D 1554. Hig. 962.

HUMAIOON IN PERSIA.

A.D. 1544. Hig. 951.

Humaioon arrives in Persia.

WE have already seen that the emperor Humaioon, having arrived at Kizvi in Persia, dispatched the noble Byram to the Persian monarch at Ispahan. That omrah accordingly waited upon Tamasp at the palace of Nilac, between the cities of Abher and Sultania*, and received an answer which testified the king's great desire to have an interview with Humaioon. The unfortunate fugitive accepted, with joy, of the invitation, and in the month of the first Jemad, in the year nine hundred and fifty one, had a conference with Tamasp, the son of Ismael Suffvi, emperor of Persia, and was royally entertained.

Tamasp, one day, in conversation, asked Humaioon, By what means his weak enemy became so powerful? Humaioon replied, "By the enmity of my brothers." The Persian then told him, "The political manner of treating brothers is not such as they received from you." And being, at that time, at table, as soon as he was done eating, the prince Byrâm, his brother, who attended him as a servant, came with the bason and ewer for him to wash.† When this was done,

* The city of Sultania is situated in the province of Irac Agemi. It was destroyed by Timur-bec, and has not since recovered its ancient splendor. From its ruins, it appears to have been very large and magnificent.

† To attend the sovereign in any menial office about his person, is the greatest honour that can be conferred upon a subject in the East.

done, Tamasp turned to Humaioon, and resuming the discourse, said, "In this manner you ought to have treated your brothers." Humaioon, out of compliment to the king, seemed to assent to what he said; which so much offended the prince, the king's brother, that he never after could forgive him while he resided at court. He took every opportunity to caluminate Humaioon to the king, and was ever harping in his ears, how much against the interest of Persia it was, that a prince of the line of Timur should sit upon the throne of India. This maxim Byram took care to inculcate upon all who had the king's confidence, and that circumstance greatly retarded the affairs of Humaioon, and, at length, wrought so visibly upon the king's disposition, that the unfortunate Mogul began to fear death or imprisonment. A.D. 1544. Hig. 951.

In the mean time, Sultana Begum, the king's sister, and Jehan, the high chancellor, in conjunction with Hakîm, one of the king's privy counsellors, taking compassion upon Humaioon's distressed situation, joined their interest to work a reconciliation, and to reinstate him in the favour of Tamasp. The wit of the Sultana had a great effect upon this occasion. She, one day, produced a stanza of verses to the king, of her own composition, in the name of Humaioon, extolling his devotion and happy turn of expression in the praise of Ali. This greatly pleased Tamasp, zealous for the sect of the Shiahs, who differ from the Sinnites, the sect whose tenets Humaioon followed. The Shiahs hold Ali to be the only assistant of Mahommed in his apostolic function, but the Sinnites believe in four, adding Osman, Omar, and Abubecker to Ali. The king's sister and some omrahs favour the cause of Humaioon.

The king, in short, told his sister, That if Humaioon should become a Shiah, and enforce that doctrine in India, he would assist him to recover

 his

A.D. 1545. Hig. 952. his empire. The sultana having acquainted Humaioon of these particulars, he was not so much wedded to a sect, as to lose a kingdom for an immaterial difference in a point of religion. He accordingly returned for an answer, "That he had always privately favoured the opinions of the Shiahs, which was partly the occasion of the animosity subsisting between him and his brothers."

Tamasp, soon after, had a private conference with the noble Byrâm, examined him concerning the policy and state of Hindostan; and when he had satisfied himself upon that head, he promised that his son Murad, who was then but an infant, with his general Biddai, should accompany Humaioon, with ten thousand horse, to chastise his brothers, and drive them out of Cabul, Candahar, and Buduchshan. Every thing accordingly was, in a short time, got in readiness, and Humaioon took leave of the Persian king. He told him, that he had long proposed to take a tour through Tibrez and Ardebial to visit the tomb of Shech Suffi, and then to proceed on his expedition. The king consented to this proposal, and issued orders to all governors through whose territories Humaioon was to pass, to supply him and his army with all necessaries, and treat him in a manner becoming his dignity.

The king gives him ten thousand horse.

Humaioon having visited and paid his devotions at the shrine of Suffi, marched with the young prince Murad towards Candahar. He invested the fort of Garrimsere, took it, and read the chutba in his own name. Ashkari, who commanded at Candahar for the prince Camiran, hearing of these proceedings, sent the young prince Akbar, the son of Humaioon, to his uncle at Cabul, and prepared the fort of Candahar for a siege.

Humaioon

Humaioon invested it upon the seventh of Mohirrim, in the year nine hundred and fifty-two. The siege had been carried on for six months, when Humaioon sent his general Byrâm with a message to Camiran, then at Cabul. A tribe of the Patans of Hazara, attacked Byrâm with great resolution, but they were defeated, and that omrah having obtained an audience of Camiran, according to his instructions, made a demand of Candahar, and required a resignation of all those provinces which he had usurped from his brother Humaioon. But it was not to be expected that Camiran would as yet listen to such a demand, and so the ambassador departed without effecting any thing. A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. Humaioon invests Candahar.

The Persian soldiers, in the service of Humaioon, were now beginning to be discouraged by the length of the siege, and discontented at being commanded by Moguls. This circumstance might have obliged Humaioon to raise the siege, had he not been joined by Mahummud, Hussein, Shere Askun, Fusil Beg, and other omrahs, who, disgusted with prince Camiran, had left his service. Some of the besieged deserted also, and joined the king. These favourable circumstances revived the sinking spirits of his army, and equally depressed those of the besieged. Ashkari desired to capitulate: his request was granted upon honourable terms; he gave up the place, and, much ashamed of his former behaviour, waited upon the king. The Persians discontented. Candahar taken.

The fort of Candahar, as had been stipulated with the Persian emperor, was given to his infant son Murad. The winter having now come on, the young prince Murad, and the Persian generals Biddai, Abul Fatte, and Aridmullu, took up their quarters in the fort, without admitting the Mogul omrahs. This so much disgusted them, that some, having no quarters,

 went

A.D. 1545. Hig. 952. went off to Cabul, while Ashkari, with a view of raising more disturbance, also fled. Ashkari, however, was pursued, and brought back prisoner.

Humaioon, finding inaction more dangerous to his affairs than war, marched towards Cabul. On the way he heard of the death of the young prince Murad, at Candahar, upon which he returned, with a view to retain that fort, as a place of security till he should make further conquests. The Persian general would not hearken to this proposal, which silenced the king, who could not, consistent with gratitude, or his own promise, compel him to deliver up the place.

But the urgency of his affairs soon obliged Humaioon to depart from these punctilios of honour. He therefore tacitly permitted Byrâm, Ali, and Mahummud, to take what means they could to render themselves masters of the place. These omrahs, accordingly, sent Mahummud and a few enterprizing men, disguised like camel-drivers, among a string of camels, which was then carrying provisions into the fort. They fell upon the guards, and dispatched them, while Byrâm and Ali rushed in, with a chosen party of horse, and possessed themselves of the fort. The Persian general returned, by the king's permission, to Persia, and Byrâm was appointed to the goverment of Candahar.

Humaioon by a stratagem seizes upon Candahar.

The king marches to Cabul.

The king marched immediately towards Cabul. The prince Eadgâr, the brother of Baber, flying, at this time, from Hussein Arghu, to Cabul, in conjunction with Hindal, the king's brother, joined Humaioon. The king, encamping in the environs of Cabul, before the army of his brother, was every day joined by some of Camiran's troops, who deserted his standards. Evan Kipla, one of Camiran's principal omrahs, came over with all his adherents. This so much weakened the

the prince's army, that he was necessitated to shut himself up in the city. Humaioon invested the place; but as it was only slightly fortified, Camiran evacuated it without fighting, and fled to Ghizni. The king sent the prince Hindal in pursuit of his brother, and, on the tenth of Ramzân, nine hundred and fifty-two, entered Cabul, where he found his son Akbar, then four years old, with his mother Beguma, and taking him in his arms, he repeated a verse to this purpose: "Joseph, by his envious brethren, was cast into a well; but he was exalted by Providence to the summit of glory." A.D. 1545. Hig. 952. invests and takes that city.

The gates of Ghizni were shut against Camiran, and he was therefore obliged to take refuge at Dawir, among the Patans of Hazara. Being very ill received there, he went to Bicker, to his cousin Hussein, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and prepared to support him. Humaioon, having left his son Akbar, under the tuition of Mahummud Ali, in Cabul, marched in person, in the year nine hundred and fifty-three, to reduce Buduchshan. Eadgâr having attempted to stir up a sedition in the royal army, was, upon conviction, sentenced to death, though he was uncle to the king. Humaioon marches against Buduchshan.

Humaioon having passed Hinderkush, and encamped at Neizikeran, Soliman, with the forces of Buduchshan, came before him, but they were defeated in the first charge. The king from thence turned towards Talichan, where he fell sick. He, however, recovered, at the end of two months, and all the factions which had begun to prevail in his army soon subsided. Moazim, the brother of Chuli, one of the imperial sultans, having had a quarrel at this time with Reshid, killed him, and fled to Cabul, where he was ordered to be imprisoned by the king.

Camiran having heard that his brother had

A.D. 1545. Hig. 952. marched to Buduchshan, made an excursion to Ghorebund. On the way he fell in with a caravan of merchants, whom he robbed of all their camels, horses, and goods; and, coming to Ghizni, raised a faction among the populace, and cut off the governor Zatrid. Making from thence forced marches towards Cabul, he arrived there as they were opening the gates in the morning, and took the place by surprize. He killed Ali, the governor, as he stood in the bath, and put out the eyes of Fasil and Vakila. The young prince Akbar, and the ladies of the Haram, were given in the charge to some eunuchs; Hisam Ali, the son of Califa, was put to death.

Camiran seizes Ghizni and surprizes Cabul.

Intelligence of these transactions coming to Humaioon, that monarch gave the government of Buduchshan to the prince Soliman, of the posterity of Timur, and that of Kunduz to his brother Hindal. He himself returned to Cabul, defeated the army of Camiran, which opposed him at Ghorebund, came to the town of the Afghans, called Deh, where Shere, and all the army of Camiran had, again assembled to oppose him. But the king overthrew them there also, and slew Shere in the action. He proceeded from thence to Cabul, and sat down before that city, skirmishing every day with the enemy. Camiran, having received intelligence that a caravan was passing, wherein there was a great number of fine horses, sent one Shere, a bold enterprizing officer, with a strong detachment, to seize and bring it into the city. Humaioon marched round the walls, and cut off Shere's retreat, so that, when he came to enter the city, he was attacked and defeated with great slaughter.

Humaioon sits down before Cabul.

The prince Soliman, from Buduchshan, Ali, and Casin Hassin, with several chiefs from Byram, the governor of Kandahar, had now joined the

Several chiefs join the king.

the king, while Kirrachi and Baboos deserted from the city to his army. Camiran, in the rage of despair, basely murdered the three sons of Baboos, and threw their mangled bodies over the wall. He, at the same time, bound the young prince Akbar and Kirrachi's son to a stake, and raised them up to view upon the battlements. But he was given to understand, that if he put them to death, every soul in the place should be massacred. A.D. 1545. Hig. 952.

Camiran thought proper to desist from his intended cruelty, and that very night, making a breach in the wall, evacuated the place and fled towards the skirts of the hills, leaving Humaioon a second time in possession of Cabul. In his retreat, he was plundered, and even stript of his cloaths, by the inhabitants of Hazara; but when they discovered him, they conducted him to his garrison at Ghorebund. He, however, did not think himself secure there, and therefore he hastened to Balich, where Mahummud, who held that city, joined him, and assisted him in subduing Buduchshan. They drove Soliman and his son Ibrahim from that country. Camiran evacuates Cabul.

Kirrachi, Baboos, and some other omrahs, being, about this time disgusted with the behaviour of Ghazi, Humaioon's vizier, wanted of the king to disgrace him, and appoint Chasim to his office. Humaioon, satisfied of the integrity of his minister, would by no means consent, which irritated them so much, that they left the king's service, and went over to Ashkari, who commanded under Camiran in Buduchshan. The king pursued them in their flight, but not being able to come up with them, returned to Cabul, and called to him Ibrahim and Hindal from their respective governments. The former having fallen in by accident with Timur, one of those chiefs who had fled, cut him off, and brought his Several omrahs desert Humaioon.

A.D. 1545. Hig. 952. his head to the king. Hindal having also met Shere, brought him back prisoner.

Camiran having left Kirrachi in Cushom, went in person to Talickân. Humaioon detached Hindal and Koka, with a considerable force, to drive Kirrachi from thence. That omrah having received intelligence of their coming, acquainted Camiran, who, with great expedition, returned to Cushom, and fell in with Hindal in crossing the river Talicân, when his troops were divided. He defeated Hindal, cut off a great part of his detachment, and seized upon all his baggage.

Camiran defeats his brother Hindal.

Humaioon, in a few days, advanced with the army from Cabul, which obliged Camiran to fly towards Talickân, and leave all his plunder, as well as his own baggage. He was, the day after his retreat, invested in the fort, and, as he despaired of the assistance of the Usbecks, to whom he had applied, he requested leave of his brother Humaioon to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Humaioon, with a good-natured weakness, consented, and both the perfidious Camiran and Askari came out of the place, and proceeded about ten pharsangs on their way. When they found that Humaioon did not send troops to seize them, nor attempt to detain them, as they imagined, they were ashamed of their own behaviour, and thought it more eligible to trust to his clemency, than turn mendicant pilgrims. With this resolution they returned.

Flies before Humaioon, and submits.

The king having heard of their return, sent persons to congratulate, and treat them with great respect. Humaioon, after these transactions, returned to Cabul. Pier Mahummud, the Usbeck, having made some incursions into Humaioon's territories, in the year nine hundred and fifty six, the king determined to take, if possible, satisfaction for the affront. He, for that purpose,

He is treated with respect by Humaioon.

purpose, marched towards Balich. Camiran and Ashkari accompanied him, and begun again to hatch treason. The king perceived their treachery, but took no effectual steps to prevent its effect. A. D. 1545. Hig. 952. His treasonable designs.

Humaioon arriving in the environs of Balick, an Usbeck general came before him with only three thousand Usbeck horse, and stopt his progress. The Usbeck chief was, on the second day, reinforced by Pier Mahummud, and the princes of Hassar, and was thus enabled to march out with thirty thousand horse to give battle. Soliman, Hindal, the king's cousin and brother, defeated the advanced parties, and pressed so hard upon Pier Mahummud, that he thought proper to retreat within the city. Humaioon defeats the Usbecks;

The king was desirous of pursuing the enemy. This resolution, had it been followed, would certainly have had a good effect, as they were preparing to evacuate the place. But unfortunately the king suffered his own better judgement to be over-ruled by his omrahs, who suggested their apprehensions from Camiran, and advised the king to encamp somewhere near the city, which would fall into his hands in the course of things. This pernicious advice was accordingly followed. No ground proper for encamping being near, the king was obliged to retreat to a small distance. The troops being ordered to move back, apprehended that danger was near; when the enemy actually construed the retreat of Humaioon into a real flight. By this double mistake the Moguls were intimidated, and the Usbecks received fresh spirits. They immediately fell upon Soliman and Hussein, who brought up the rear, forced them upon the main body, where the king commanded in person. He gallantly opposed them hand to hand, and with his spear dismounted the officer who led on the attack. His brother

A.D. 1545. Hig. 952.

brother Hindal, Tirdi Beg, and Tolic Chan supported Humaioon with great bravery; but they soon found themselves deserted by all their troops, and were obliged to save themselves by flight.

and is, in his turn, overthrown

Retreat to Cabul.

After this unfortunate action, the imperial army retreated towards Cabul. The king, on his way, was deserted by the perfidious Camiran and Ashkari, who had not joined in the action. Humaioon justly resenting their behaviour, wrote to Ali, one of Camiran's omrahs, and made him great promises if he would seize his master, and send him prisoner to court; dispatching, at the same time, Soliman and Hindal in pursuit of him. Camiran, laying aside all his ensigns of state, attempted, by the way of Zohac and Bamia, to pass to the Indus. The king, informed of his motions, sent a party to intercept him; but Kirrachi and Hussein, who had remained with Humaioon, wrote privately to Camiran, and acquainted him with all that passed. These perfidious chiefs, being now ashamed of no villany, told Camiran, that, as the greatest part of the king's troops were detached from his person, if he would return, they would join him in the action. Camiran did not let this favourable opportunity slip through his hands. He returned, by the way of Kipoha, whither the king, having intelligence of him, advanced to meet him. The battle no sooner begun, than Kirrachi and his perfidious adherents, went over to Camiran, and turned upon Humaioon, who, with a few faithful friends, fought with great resolution. Pier Mahummud, and Ahmed, the son of Kulli, being slain by the king's side, and he himself wounded in the head, as well as his horse, he was forced to abandon the field, and fly to Bamia, and from thence to Buduchshan, leaving Camiran to possess himself, a third time, of Cabul.

Humaioon

Humaioon was now in great distress for money to pay the few troops who had continued faithful to his fortunes. He was obliged to borrow the horses, camels, and merchandize of some great caravans, with which he mounted and paid his troops. He privately sent Bidda, Toglich, Mudgnow, and others, to the number of ten persons, to support his interest at Cabul, and to send him intelligence of what passed in that city. But of all these Toglick alone remained true to his interest, which they now found was greatly declined. Soliman, Ibrahim, and prince Hindal, returning with their detachments to join the king, he found himself again in a condition to make an attempt to recover his kingdom; and he accordingly marched towards Cabul. Camiran, upon the approach of Humaioon, came out, and drew up on the banks of the Punger. Camiran was defeated with great slaughter, and in his flight he was obliged to shave his head and beard, to escape, in the disguise of a mendicant, to the mountains of Limgan. Ashkari was taken prisoner, and the perfidious Kirrachi fell in the engagement. A.D. 1545. Hig. 952. Humaioon in great distress.

Humaioon now returned in triumph to Cabul, where he enjoyed a whole year in peace and festivity. Intelligence was brought to him, that the restless Camiran was again at the head of fifteen hundred horse, while some omrahs fled from the royal presence to Ghizni. The king marched against his brother, who fled towards the Indus; so that Humaioon, without effecting any thing, returned to Cabul. Camiran no sooner heard of his brother's retreat, than he returned again among the Afghans to raise up more disturbances. Humaioon was under the necessity of taking the field a second time: he wrote to Byram, who still held the government of Candahar, to march against the omrahs who fled to Ghizni, and Returns to Cabul.

A.D. 1551. Hig. 958. had invited Camiran to join him at that place. Camiran, by the way of Peshawir, Bungish, and Curvez, was then on his march towards Ghizni: but before his arrival, Byram had come to Ghizni, and carried the revolted omrahs prisoners to Cabul. Camiran, disappointed of his ally, returned to Peshawir, and the king directed his march to Cabul.

Transactions at Cabul.

Before the arrival of Humaioon at his capital, Mahommed, one of the imprisoned omrahs, found means to escape a second time to Ghizni, from whence he was persuaded to return; no doubt, upon the most sacred assurances of pardon. Ashkari having preferred a petition to the king, soliciting his releasement from prison, in order to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, was now sent to Soliman, governor of Buduchshan, to proceed to Balich. Ashkari died in the year nine hundred and sixty one, in his way crossing the Arabian deserts.

Camiran was, in the mean time, levying troops among the Afghans, and carrying on a private correspondence with Mahommed at Ghizni. The treason was discovered, and the old traitor condemned to death. Humaioon had, by this time, marched against Camiran; but he was surprized in his camp, near Chiber, the twenty-first of Zicada, nine hundred and fifty-eight, in the night; upon which occasion prince Hindal lost his life. Camiran, however, gained no advantage but the death of his brother, being overthrown by Humaioon, and obliged to take shelter again among the Patans. The king, after this victory, returned to Cabul, and in gratitude to the memory of Hindal, who had so well expiated his former disobedience, by his services and blood, he gave the daughter of that prince, Rixia Sultana, to his son Akbar in marriage. He conferred, at the same time, upon the royal pair, all the

Prince Hindal killed, and Camiran defeated.

the wealth of Hindal, and appointed Akbar to the command of his uncle's troops, and to his government of Ghizni. A.D. 1552. Hig. 959.

The Afghans, a few months after these transactions, rose in favour of Camiran. The king marched into their country, which he laid waste with fire and sword. Finding, at last, that they got nothing but mischief to themselves by adhering to Camiran, they withheld their aid, and expelled him from their country. The Afghans expel Camiran.

The desolate Camiran fled to Hindostan, and was reduced to solicit the protection of the emperor Selim, whom he beheld, by his own baseness, ruling his father's empire. But it was not to be expected that Selim would treat Camiran favourably. The unfortunate fugitive fled from the court of Delhi, and, like a poor vagabond, sought protection from the Indian prince of Nagercot. Being from thence driven by Selim, he fled among the Gickers. He flies to Selim.

Hyder, one of the posterity of Timur, reigned then in Cashmire: he requested the assistance of Humaioon to quell some disturbances in his kingdom. The king accordingly marched towards India, and crossed the Indus. Adam, the prince of the Gickers, fearing the king's resentment, for giving protection to Camiran, imprisoned that unhappy man, and acquainted the king, that he was ready to deliver him over to any body he should be pleased to send. The king dispatched Monim to Adam, and Camiran was accordingly given up to him, and brought to the royal presence. Delivered up to the king.

The Mogul chiefs, to a man, solicited that he should be put to death, that he might distress them no more; but the king would, by no means, consent to embrue his hands in the blood of his brother, however deserving he was of death.

Humaioon,

A.D. 1552. Hig. 959. Humaioon, on account of his lenity, was threatened with a general sedition in his army, and every body openly complained of that merciful disposition in the king, by which his subjects were so often involved in misfortunes. He was, at last, though much against his will, necessitated to permit them to render Camiran blind, by means of antimony. Some days after this sentence was executed upon the unfortunate prince, the king went to see him. Camiran immediately rose, and walked some steps forward to meet him, saying: "The glory of the king will "not be diminished by visiting the unfortunate." Humaioon immediately bursting into tears, wept very bitterly: Camiran endeavoured to comfort him, by confessing the justice of his own punishment, and, by way of expiating his crimes, requested leave to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca; his request was granted, and he went by the way of Sind. Having resided three years in Mecca, he died in that place in the year nine hundred and sixty-four: he left one son, Carem, who was some time after his father's death, assassinated, by order of Akbar, in the fort of Gualier; Camiran had also three daughters.

His eyes are put out.

and dies there.

Humaioon marches towards Cashmire.

Humaioon being now delivered from the restless spirit of Camiran, began to extend his dominions: he first turned his arms towards Cashmire. Selim, the Patan emperor of India, having, at that time, advanced to the Indus, his omrahs represented to Humaioon, that, if he should enter Cashmire, as there was but one pass through which he could return, that Selim might block up his rear, and reduce him to great distress. The king, however, would not listen to their representations, but marched towards Cashmire. Having advanced about half way, a mutiny arose in the army, and the greatest part of the omrahs refused to proceed; while others actually

actually returned to Cabul; this obliged Humaioon to take a circuit, by the way of Sind, ordering a fort, called Bickeram, to be built in his route. In Bickeram he left a garrison under one Secunder. A.D. 1554. Hig. 962. Returns.

When the king arrived in Cabul, he sent his son Akbar to his government of Ghizni, under the charge of Jellâl. In the year nine hundred and sixty-one, the king had another son born to him at Cabul, whom he named Mahommed Hakîm. Akbar sent to Ghizni.

In the course of this year Humaioon became jealous of Byram, by the calumny of some of his courtiers, who pretended, that that great man was carrying on intrigues with the Persian government. The king marched towards Candahar, by the way of Ghizni. Byram, who was quite innocent of the charge, when he heard of the king's approach, came out, with five or six friends only, to congratulate him upon his arrival, and to lay his offerings at his feet. The king soon plainly perceived that he had been abused, and satisfying Byram with reasons for his coming, spent two months there in festivity. The calumniators of Byram were disgraced, and he himself loaded with favours. Byram was, however, afraid, that the repeated calumnies of his enemies might find way at last into the king's mind; he therefore earnestly requested, that the government should be bestowed on some other chief, and that he might be permitted to attend his sovereign. But the king would, by no means, consent to a thing, which might have the appearance of a slur upon the conduct of his faithful servant. When they parted, Byram obtained the district of Dawir for two of his friends, who remained with him.

Much about this time an address was received from the inhabitants of Delhi and Agra, acquainting The inhabitants of Delhi and

A.D. 1554. Hig. 962.

Agra invite him to India.

quainting Humaioon that Selim, the Asian emperor of India, was dead, and that all the tribes of the Patans were engaged in a civil war: that it was, therefore, a proper opportunity for the king to return and take possession of his empire. Humaioon was in no condition to raise a sufficient army for that enterprize, and he became extremely melancholy.

The king being one day upon a hunting party, told some of his omrahs that he was very uneasy in his mind, about the execution of his designs upon Hindostan. Some of them, who were desirous to make the attempt, consulted among themselves, and hit upon a successful stratagem to bring the king to an immediate resolution. They therefore told him, that there was an old method of divination, by sending a person before, and asking the names of the three first persons he met, from which a conclusion, good or bad, might be formed, according to their meaning. The king, being naturally superstitious, ordered this to be done: he sent three horsemen in front, who were to come back and acquaint him of the answers they received. The first horseman who returned told the king, that he had met with a traveller, whose name was Dowlat *. The next brought advice, that he met a man, who called himself Murâd †. And the third, that he met with a villager, whose name was Sâdit ‡.

Humaioon resolves to invade Hindostan.

The king discovered great joy upon this occasion, and though he could only collect fifteen thousand horse, determined to undertake an expedition into India: he left to Monim the government of Cabul, and the tuition of his young son Hakim; and in the month of Siffer, nine hundred

* Fortune or prosperity. † Desire or inclination.

‡ Happiness.

hundred and sixty-two, began his march from his capital. The king was joined at Peshawir by Byram, with all his veterans from Candahar. When he had crossed the western branch of the Indus, he appointed Byram his captain general, and ordered him to lead the van with Chizer, Tirdi Beg, Secunder, and Shubiani. A.D. 1554. Hig. 962.

Upon the approach of the king, Tatar, the Patan governor of the province of the five branches of the Indus, who commanded the new fort of Rhotas, evacuated the place, and fled to Delhi. Humaioon pursued Tatar to Lahore, which place was also evacuated by the Patans, and the king peaceably entered the city. From Lahore he dispatched Byram to Sirhind, and that able general possessed himself of all the country as far as that place. The king having received intelligence that a body of Afghans, commanded by Shubas and Nisir, were assembled at Dibalpoor, he ordered Abul Mili, whom he used to honour with the name of son, with a strong detachment against them. Abul Mali having overthrown them, returned with the plunder of their camp to Lahore. Rhotas evacuated. He enters Lahore. Defeats some Afghans at Dibalpoor.

The Patan emperor Secunder had, in the mean time, ordered Tatar and Hybut, with an army of thirty or forty thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram, notwithstanding their great superiority in number, was determined to risque a battle, crossed the Suttuluz, advanced boldly to meet them, and pitched his camp upon the banks of the river Bidgwarra. It being winter, the Patans kindled great fires of wood in their camp, which Byram observing, he crossed the river with a thousand chosen horse, and advancing near their camp without being discovered, began to gall those who crowded round the fires with arrows, which raised an uproar in the camp. But the Patans, instead of Secunder sends an army against Humaioon.

A.D. 1554. Hig. 962.

extinguishing their fires, which prevented them from seeing the enemy, while the enemy had a fair view of them, by means of the light, threw on more wood. In the mean time, the whole of Byram's army having crossed the river, fell upon the Patans from all sides, routed them, and took all their elephants, baggage, and a number of horses. Byram sent the elephants to the king, at Lahore, and encamped at Matchiwarrah. He dispersed detachments on all sides, and posesssed himself of all the country, almost to the walls of Delhi. The king was greatly rejoiced when he heard of this victory, and conferred upon Byram the titles of Lord of Lords, the grateful friend, and the grief-expelling companion.

which is overthrown by Byram.

Secunder marches against the Moguls.

When the news arrived of the overthrow of Tatar, the emperor Secunder exacted an oath of fidelity from his omrahs, and marched with eighty thousand horse, a great train of artillery, and a number of elephants, towards the Indus. Byram thought proper to shut himself up in Sirhind, and to provide against a siege, by laying in provisions, and throwing up new works. Secunder encamped before Sirhind, and Byram sent continual letters to Lahore, to hasten the king to his relief. Humaioon accordingly marched, joined Byram, made repeated sallies from the city, and greatly distressed the enemy in their camp.

Upon the last day of Rigib, when the young prince Akbar was going the rounds of the camp, the Patans drew up their forces, and offered battle. This had the intended effect on the impetuous young prince, who could not bear to be insulted. He accordingly having obtained his father's permission, drew out the army. Humaioon gave the command of the right to Byram, and the left to Secunder, which was composed of the troops of Abdulla the Usbeck, Abul Mali, Alla,

Prince Akbar marshals the Mogul army.

Alla, and Tirdi Beg, who were to begin the action. He took post in person in the centre, and advanced slowly towards the enemy, who waited the attack. The left wing having charged, according to the orders which they had received; the enemy were broke, and they never after recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown. The action, however, continued warm for some time; Humaioon and his gallant general Byram displayed great conduct, while the young prince Akbar distinguished himself with acts of personal valour. The Moguls were so animated by the behaviour of that young hero, that they seemed even to forget that they were mortal men. The enemy at last were driven off the field, with very great slaughter, and the emperor Secunder fled with precipitation, to the mountains of Sewalic.

A. D. 1554 Hig. 962.

The battle begins.

The Patans overthrown.

This victory decided the fate of the empire, which fell for ever from the Patans. Secunder, the Usbeck, and some other omrahs, were detached to take possession of Delhi and Agra, which they effected without opposition. Humaioon conferred the government of the province of Punjab upon Abul Mali, and ordered him to pursue the fugitive emperor. In the month of Ramzan the king entered Delhi in triumph, and became a second time Emperor of Hindostan. Byram, to whose valour and conduct the king, in a great measure, owed his restoration, was now rewarded with the first offices in the state, and had princely estates assigned to him. Tirdi Beg was appointed to the government of Delhi; the superintendency of Agra was given to Secunder; and Alli Kulli was made viceroy of Merat and Simbol, for which department he set out with a considerable force.

The empire transferred from the Patans to the Moguls.

As Abul Mali, on account of disputes with the omrahs in his army, had permitted Secunder

Akbar sent against Secunder.

A. D. 1555. H. 963. to become daily more formidable, the king dispatched his son Akbar, under the direction of Byram, against him. Much about this time a man, of low birth, who became famous under the name of Kumber, raised a rebellion in Simbol, and, collecting a great force, plundered the provinces between the rivers. He was, however, on the fifth of the first Ribbi, nine hundred and sixty three, defeated and slain by Alli Kulli, and the insurrection totally quashed.

The king's death. In the evening of the seventh of the first Ribbi, Humaioon walked upon the terrace of the library, and sat down there for some time to enjoy the fresh air. When the emperor began to descend the steps of the stair from the terrace, the crier, according to custom, proclaimed the time of prayers. The king, conformable to the practice of religion, stood still upon this occasion, and repeated the Culma*, then sat down upon the second step of the stair till the proclamation was ended. When he was going to rise he supported himself upon a staff, which unfortunately slipt upon the marble, and the king fell headlong from the top to the bottom of the stair. He was taken up insensible, and laid upon his bed; he soon recovered his speech, and the physicians administered all their art: but in vain, for upon the eleventh, about sunset, his soul took her flight to Paradise. He was buried in the new city, upon the banks of the river; and a noble tomb was erected over him, some years after, by his son Akbar. Humaioon died at the age of fifty-one, after a reign of twenty-five years, both in Cabul and India.

His character. The mildness and benevolence of Humaioon were excessive, if there can be any excess in virtues

* The Creed.

tues so noble as these. His affection to his brothers proved the source of all his misfortunes; but they rewarded him with ingratitude and contempt. He was learned, a lover of literature, and the generous patron of the men of genius who flourished in his time. In battle he was valiant and enterprizing: but the clemency of his disposition hindered him from using his victories in a manner which suited the vices of the times. Had he been less mild and religious, he would have been a more successful prince: Had he been a worse man, he would have been a greater monarch. A.D. 1555. Hig. 963.

State of Asia at the death of Humaioon.

Shaw Tamasp was in the thirty-second year of his reign over Persia, when Humaioon died in Hindostan. The Usbecks had possessed themselves of Great Bucharia, and the most part of Maver-ul-nere or Transoxiana; and the frontier provinces beyond the Indus were subject to the family of Timur, emperors of Hindostan.

AKBAR.

A. D. 1555. Hig. 963.

THE celebrated Abul Fazil, the most elegant writer of India, has given to the world the history of the renowned Akbar*, in three volumes, called Akbar Namma. From that historian we shall chiefly extract the most material transactions of this reign.

Akbar mounts the throne at Callanore.

When Humaioon became insensible, after his fall, the Mogul chiefs dispatched one Chuli express to Punjab, to acquaint Akbar of the accident which had befallen his father. Not many days after, the news of his father's death came to the prince at Callanore. The omrahs, who were present, after expressing their grief for the deceased, raised Akbar to the throne, on the second of the second Ribbi, in the year 963, being then thirteen years and nine months old.

Byram's wise administration.

Byram, distinguished by the noble title of Chan Chanân †, on the accesion of Akbar, became absolute regent, and had the whole civil and military power of the empire in his hands. The first orders issued from the throne, after dispatching the letters of proclamation, were, to prohibit the exaction of the usual present of money from the farmers; to let all goods pass toll-free, and to prevent the injurious practice of pressing

* His titles at length were, Shaw Jumja, Abul Muzzisser, Jellâl ul dien, Mahommed Akbar, Padisha Ghazi.

† Which may be translated, the most Noble of Nobles.

pressing labourers to the war. Not many days after the accession of Akbar, Abul Mali, who was in great favour with Humaioon, discovering some treasonable intentions, was seized and imprisoned in Lahore. He, however, found means, some time after, to escape; and Pulwan Gul, the chief magistrate to whose charge he was committed, killed himself, for fear of the strict severity of the police under Byram. A.D. 1555 Hig. 963.

The king led his army towards the hills, with a view to exterminate the party of the Patan emperor Secunder: he defeated Secunder, and obliged him to fly farther among the mountains, whither the imperial army could not pursue him. Akbar, in the mean time, subdued the country of Nagracot; received the Indian prince of that province into favour; and the rains coming on, took up his quarters at Jallender. In the mean time, Solimân, one of the posterity of Timur, and frequently mentioned in the reign of Humaioon, who had been left governor of Buduchshan, threw off his allegiance, set up for himself, and marched against Cabul. That city was defended by Monim, the tutor of the young prince Hakim, the king's brother. Intelligence of this rebellion being brought to Akbar, he immediately detached Kulli Burlass, Azim, Chizer, and other omrahs, to succour Monim. Some of those chiefs entered Cabul, while others encamped without, to harass the besiegers; which they continued to do for the space of four months. The garrison, in the mean time, became to be distressed for provisions; which obliged Monim to consent, that the chutba, for the kingdom of Cabul, should be read in the name of Solimân. The rebel, after this submission, raised the siege, and returned to Buduchshan. Akbar defeats Secunder.

During these transactions at Cabul, Himu, the vizier of Mahommed, the Patan emperor of the Eastern

A. D. 1555. Hig. 963. Eastern Provinces, advanced towards Agra with thirty thousand horse and two thousand elephants. He obliged Secunder, the Mogul governor of that city, to retreat to Delhi. Sadi, another general under Mahummud, in the mean time, raised an army, and advanced to the banks of the Rehib; where the Mogul governor Zeman, with three thousand horse, crossing the river, attacked him, but was defeated, and carried only two hundred of his army alive from the field; those who escaped the sword being drowned in the river.

Himu takes Agra,

advances to Delhi,

Himu having taken Agra, marched towards Delhi, where Tirdi commanded for Akbar. Tirdi sent expresses to all the Mogul chiefs around, soliciting succours, and was joined by Abdulla, Inderani, Kullabi, and others; and then he thought himself in a condition to give the enemy battle, without waiting for Zeman, who, with several other omrahs, and a considerable reinforcement, was marching to his assistance. Himu, who was a very valiant man, selected three thousand chosen horse, and some of his best elephants, which he posted about his own person in the centre; and with which he charged Tirdi so violently, that he drove him quite off the field. Himu then fell, with great impetuosity, upon the right wing, which he routed, so that the flight became general. This victory was so complete, that in consequence of it, the city immediately surrendered, and Tirdi, flying to Sirhind, left all the country open to the enemy. Zeman, having received intelligence of this disaster, at Merat, hastened also to Sirhind.

which he takes.

The king in great perplexity.

The king, during these transactions, was at Jallender; and finding all his dominions, except the provinces towards the heads of the Indus, wrested from him, was greatly affected with the news

news of Himu's success. He called to him Byram, and conferred upon him the honourable title of the noble Baba *. He told that able man, that he reposed his whole trust in his prudence and good conduct, in this perilous situation of affairs, and desired that he might take whatever measures he thought most conducive to retrieve his affairs. He, at the same time, assured Byram, in the most solemn manner, that he would give no attention to any malicious insinuations which might be suggested to the royal ear by his enemies. The young prince having thus expressed the genuine sentiments of his soul to Byram, he made him swear, by the soul of his father Humaioon, and by the head of his own son, that he would be faithful to the great trust which was now reposed in him. A council of war was immediately called, in which Byram presided. The majority of the omrahs were of opinion, that as the enemy consisted of above a hundred thousand horse, while the royal army scarce amounted to twenty thousand, it would be most prudent to retreat to Cabul. Byram strenuously opposed this measure, and was almost singular in his opinion, which was to give battle instantly to the enemy. The young king joined Byram's sentiments with so much warmth and gallant anxiety, that the chiefs cried out, in rapture, that their lives and fortunes were at his service. A. D. 1555. Hig. 963.

Immediately hostilities being resolved upon, Chizer Chan, who was married to the king's aunt, the sultana Gulbâdin, was appointed governor of Lahore, to act against Secunder; while the king himself prepared in person to chastise Himu. He marched to Sirhind, and was there joined by his defeated omrahs, who had assembled at that place. The king being out one day The king marches against Himu.

* Baba signifies father.

A.D. 1556. Hig. 964. day at the diversion of hawking, Byram called Tirdi to his tent, and ordered him to be beheaded for abandoning Delhi, where he might have defended himself, and for other unmilitary crimes, with which he was justly charged. When Akbar returned, Byram waited upon him, and informed him of what he had done: he excused himself for not acquainting the king of his intentions, by insinuating that he was certain his royal clemency was so great, that notwithstanding Tirdi's crimes, he would have forgiven him; which, at such a time, would be attended with very dangerous consequences, as the hopes of the Moguls rested upon every individual's strict performance of duty. He affirmed, that negligence was, in such a critical situation, as great a crime as treason, and ought to meet with an equal punishment. But that, on the other hand, desert should meet with reward; for a dangerous crisis is the season of strict justice in both respects. Without his reward, the soldier becomes languid and discontented; when he fears no punishment, he is negligent and insolent.

The king saw into the propriety of the measure, but he shuddered at the inhumanity of the punishment. He, however, thanked Byram for the service which he had done him; and, indeed, though the policy of that minister was severe, it had the intended effect among the omrahs. They saw that they had nothing to hope, and every thing to fear, from faction and bad behaviour; and, therefore, they became very obedient to the orders of Byram.

Marches towards Delhi.

The king soon after marched from Sirhind towards Delhi, detaching Secunder, Abdulla, Inderani, Lal Sultan, Mudjenu, and others, under the command of the gallant Zeman, who had been created captain general, some miles in his front. Himu, who had assumed the title of Raja,

Raja, in Delhi, having attached Sadi, and other Afghan omrahs to his interest, marched out of that city with all his forces; which by the lowest computation, exceeded a hundred thousand horse, besides elephants and infantry, with a great train of artillery. He detached, in front, a great body of Afghans, with some artillery, which falling in with the Mogul captain general, were defeated with the loss of all their guns, which proved a signal advantage to the king. Himu having arrived at Panniput, heard that the king was advancing very near him. He divided his elephants, in which he greatly confided, among his principal officers. A.D. 1556. Hig. 964.

In the morning of the second of Mohirrim, 964, the captain general, who had been, by that time, joined by the whole army except a few, who remained to guard the king, drew up in order of battle, and waited the attack. Himu began the action with his elephants, in hopes of frightening the Mogul cavalry, who were not accustomed to those enormous animals. He, however, found that he was deceived. The Mogul chiefs, either from a fear of the fate of Tirdi, or from a nobler cause, their own valour, attacked Himu with such resolution, after he had penetrated the centre of their army, where Zeman commanded, that the elephants, galled with lances, arrows and javelins, became quite outrageous, and submitted no longer to command, fell back and disordered the Patan ranks. Himu, who rode a prodigious elephant, still continued the action with great vigour, at the head of four thousand horse, in the very heart of the Moguls; being at last pierced through the eye with an arrow, the greatest part of his troops, fearing that his wound was mortal, forsook him. But that valiant man drew the eye out of the socket with the A general action.

arrow;

A. D. 1556. Hig. 964. arrow; and, in that terrible condition, continued the fight with unequalled resolution and courage. He encouraged the few who remained by his side, and advanced through a bloody path which his weapons made; till a chief, called Kulli, stretched his spear to kill the driver of Himu's elephant; that timorous wretch, to save his own life, pointed to Himu, and addressing him, by name, said he would carry him whithersoever he pleased. Kulli immediately surrounded him with a body of horse, and carried him prisoner to Akbar, whom Byram, as upon him rested the hopes of all, detained in the rear.

Himu taken and slain.

When the unfortunate Himu was brought into the presence, almost expiring with his wounds, Byram told the king, that it would be a meritorious action in him, to kill that brave infidel with his own hand. Akbar, in compliance to the advice of his tutor, drew his sword, but only gently touched the head of the captive, bursting into tears of compassion. Byram, looking sternly upon the king, insinuated, that the ill-timed clemency of his family was the source of all their misfortunes, and with one stroke of the sabre severed Himu's head from his body.

Akbar arrives at Delhi.

Akbar took, in this action, fifteen hundred elephants, and all the artillery of the enemy. He immediately marched from the field, and took possession of Delhi. From that city, he dispatched Pier Mahummud, manager of the private affairs of Byram, towards Mewat, to seize the treasure of Himu, which was deposited in that place. This service was accomplished with some loss on the side of the Moguls; and the empire, in a great measure, returned to its former tranquillity.

The Persians besiege and take Kandahar.

Hussein, the grandson of the celebrated Ismaiel Suffvi, advanced this year, by the orders of his

uncle Tamasp, emperor of Persia, and laid siege to Kandahar. After a sharp engagement before the walls, with Mahummud of Kandahar, who commanded in the place, as deputy of the minister Byram, the city fell into the hands of the Persians. Chizer, the Mogul general in the north-west provinces, was, at the same time, defeated by Secunder, the fugitive Patan emperor, and obliged to fly to Lahore. A.D. 1556. Hig. 954.

Akbar, having received intelligence of this double disaster, put his army in motion, and marched towards the Indus. Secunder, who had advanced as far as Callanore, retreated upon the king's approach, to the fort of Mancot, which had been built by Selim, the late emperor. Akbar besieged Secunder in that fortress for the space of six months: he then began to treat about surrendering the place upon conditions; and Chan Azim being sent into the fort to settle the terms of capitulation, Secunder proposed to that chief, to give his son, as a hostage to the king, for his future obedience, if he himself should be permitted to retire to Bengal. This being granted, on the part of Akbar, Rhiman, the son of Secunder, was, in the month of Ramzan 964, brought to the king, with presents, consisting chiefly of elephants. Secunder was permitted to retire to Bengal, and Mancot was delivered up to Akbar. The king left a trusty governor in the place, and proceeded to Lahore. The king marches towards Punjab.

Byram, the regent, being privately disgusted at favours which the king had conferred upon some persons, whom he suspected to be enemies to himself, for some days refused to come to the royal presence. The king, in the mean time, happened to amuse himself with an elephant fight, and the outrageous animals chanced to run over the tents of Byram. The minister immediately suspected that this was done designedly by the king, Byram disgusted.

A. D. 1556. Hig. 964.

king, and he sent to acquaint him, "That he was sorry to see that he had disobliged the king: but that, if he deserved Akbar's dislike, he would be glad to know the crime he had committed, that he might be the better able to make his excuse, and then retire for ever from the presence." The king was touched with an imputation which his soul abhorred; but he condescended to acquaint Byram, that the circumstance, from which his ungenerous suspicions arose, was a mere accident. This, however, did not satisfy the minister, who still continued to suspect that the king's mind was estranged from him.

His vindictive disposition.

The king, soon after this transaction, marched from Lahore to Delhi. Chaja Callan, who was proud of the dignity of the Mogul family, of which he was descended, and of the signal services which he had rendered to the king, set himself up to oppose Byram in his administration. That vindictive minister, to get rid of his antagonist, condemned him to death upon very slight pretences, which raised great commotions among the omrahs. The king also expressed his dislike of this violent proceeding; for the whole had been done without his orders.

Breach between him and the king.

Upon this occasion high words arose between the king and his minister; and the former, in a few days, set out for Agra. Though the king did not discover to any man what had passed be tween him and Byram, the cause of his journey was no secret at court. The people sided with their young king in the quarrel, and the power of the minister began to decline visibly every day. The enraged Byram, in the mean time, endeavoured to recover his authority by rigour and severity.

He punishes the insolence of Pier Mahummud.

Much about this time, Pier Mahummud, who had been formerly a retainer of Byram, was, on account of his great abilities, preferred to the high

high office of tutor to the king. He soon engrossed a considerable share of the king's favour; and the pride of advancement began to swell in his heart. He used often to make the nobles, who attended his levee, to wait whole hours, and, at last, to send them a message that he could not see them; which insolent behaviour gave great offence to many. Byram himself was little better treated, one day, by Mahummud; and he took it so much amiss, that, by virtue of his own authority, he sent the tutor prisoner to Biana; from thence he banished him to Guzerat, and there shipped him off for Mecca to prosecute his devotion. A.D. 1556. Hig. 964.

The king was highly offended at this proceeding, as it seemed to debar him from even the liberty of disposing of his own private favours. The artful minister, perceiving Akbar's rage, projected an expedition against Gualier, to divert his attention to another object. That fortress was then in the possession of Bibil, one of the slaves of the emperor Selim, the son of Shere, who held it for Mahummud, the late emperor of Delhi, who still kept up the imperial title in Bengal. Bibil, hearing of Akbar's design against him, wrote to Ram Shaw, a descendant of the great Raja Man Singh, that as his ancestors had been masters of Gualier, and as he did not think himself capable to hold out the place against the king, he would put it into the possession of the Raja for a reasonable sum. The king offended.

Ram Shaw, glad of the offer, immediately moved towards the fort: but Kika, who possessed an estate from the king in the neighbourhood of Gualier, raised all his vassals, and attacking the Indian prince, defeated and drove him into the dominions of Rana. Kika, immediately after this victory, returned and invested the fortress. Bibil, seeing himself thus besieged, made Gualier delivered up.

 overtures

A. D. 1556. Hig. 964. overtures of capitulation. The king being informed of this circumstance, ordered one of his officers, with a detachment, to give Bibil the terms he required, and to seize upon the fortress. The traitor accordingly, being gratified with some money and a promise of future favour, delivered up the important castle of Gualier.

In the course of the same year, the Mogul captain-general, the noble Zemân, to wipe off some aspersions under which he lay, exerted himself in a particular manner in the king's service; for he subdued all the provinces near Jionpoor and Benaris, which till then were in the hands of the adherents of the Patan dynasty.

Transactions at court. Mahommed Ghori, the brother of the famous Phul, who having been firmly attached to the Mogul interest, during the late supremacy of the Patans, had fled to Guzerat, this year returned to court with his family, and was very favourably received by the king, who ordered Byram to provide for him in a manner suitable to his dignity. Ghori, trusting too much to the king's authority, neglected to pay that court to the minister which that haughty though able man expected: Byram therefore took every possible means to avoid to serve Ghori, and made things so very disagreeable to him, that he left the court, and retired to his old family residence at Gualier. This being represented to the king, revived his former discontent against Byram. The artful regent soon observed a visible alteration in the countenance of his sovereign. He therefore formed an expedition against Malava, to turn the king's active mind from the private politics of the court. Byram accordingly called Bahadur, the brother of the captain-general Zemân, from the province of Debalpoor, and gave him the command of the army destined to act against

against Baz Bahadur, the Patan prince of Malava.

A. D. 1557. Hig. 965.

Akbar visits Delhi.

The king, much about this time, went out upon a hunting party, and made a progress as far as Secundra, within forty miles of Delhi, between the rivers. Mahim, his foster-brother, joined him there, and told him, that his mother was extremely ill at Delhi, and was very desirous to see the king. He immediately set out for Delhi, and the noble Ahmed, a native of Neishapoor, an omrah of five thousand, who then commanded in the city, came out to meet Akbar with presents: that omrah was in great perplexity how to act. He was assured, that Byram would impute the king's journey to Delhi to his intrigues, and would not fail to get rid of him, as he had done of Musa Beg, a chief, whom, under a like pretext, he found means to remove; he therefore acquainted the king of his apprehensions, and begged he might be permitted to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. The king was very much affected upon hearing this request, by observing how formidable the power of his minister was become to all his friends; but after he had considered the many obligations under which he and his family lay to that able man, he could not think of removing him: to lessen, however, in some measure, the apprehensions of Ahmed, the king wrote to the regent that he had, of his own accord, proceeded to Delhi, and not at the instigation of any person, but merely to pay his respects to his mother; that therefore a letter from him to appease the minds of those who were apprehensive of his displeasure, would be extremely necessary. Byram returned for answer, that "he should never entertain resentment against any whom the king was pleased to honour with his favour." He moreover sent Mahommed Seistani and Tirdi Beg to Delhi, with

A.D. 1557. Hig. 965.

assurances of his loyalty and implicit obedience to the king's royal pleasure.

A faction accuses Byram to the king.

In the mean time, Ahmed, finding the king disposed to protect him, and to hear accusations against Byram, gave a loose to his tongue one day in public against that minister. He was joined by the whole court, whom he had previously attached to his interest. In short, so many crimes were alleged against Byram, particularly his designs in favour of Abul Casim, the son of the prince Camiran, the king's cousin-german, that Akbar was alarmed, and thought it necessary to curtail the regent's authority. When, therefore, Mahommed and Tirdi Beg arrived, instead of being admitted to an audience, they were immediately imprisoned.

Transactions at court.

This breach between the king and Byram is related with other particulars by the celebrated historian Abul Fazil. One day at Agra, says that great man, one of the king's elephants in the rutting season, attacked an elephant of Byram's and killed him. Byram, for this offence, commanded that the keeper of the royal elephants should be put to death, without giving any notice to the emperor. Akbar was greatly displeased with this piece of cruelty, especially when he found that the poor man was innocent, having lost all his command over the outrageous animal. Soon after, continues Abul Fazil, as Byram was taking his pleasure in a barge on the river, one of the elephants, which had been carried down to the water, run furiously against the barge, and had almost sunk it, before, by the uncommon efforts of the rider, he was brought to obedience. The minister, naturally of a suspicious and unforgiving temper, imagined that these were actually plots laid against his life; and he publicly petitioned the king to punish the rider of the elephant.

The

The king, to appease Byram, and to remove all suspicions, ordered that the elephant-rider should be sent to him, to be punished at discretion. But Byram, either to make an example to others, or to gratify his resentment against the innocent man, who might even be said to have saved his life, ordered him also to be put to death. A.D. 1558. Hig. 966.

The king was highly incensed by these two instances of Byram's presumption and cruelty. His displeasure became visible to the court; and there were not wanting many, who made it their business, by private insinuations, to increase his resentment. The king, at length, came to the resolution of depriving Byram of the reins of government, which required some delicacy in the present situation of affairs. Some authors mention a scheme suggested to Akbar by his nurse*, upon this occasion, to get possession of the seals, which were in Byram's possession. They also say, that she discovered to him that minister's design to confine him, which she had accidentally heard, in a conversation between Byram and the queen-mother. This, say they, was the circumstance that determined Akbar to leave Agra. Abul Fazil mentions nothing of this affair; for that historian informs us, with great probability, that the whole was concerted between the two omrahs, Adam and Mahim Aniga, on the part of the young king, who now began to be tired of a tutor, and thought he was capable of acting for himself. But to return from this digression.

When it became public that the deputies from Byram had been imprisoned by the king, every body predicted the ruin of the minister, and endeavoured to shake him off as fast as possible. Byram disgraced.

 They

* This was she that the king went to visit at Delhi.

A.D. 1558. Hig. 966. They flocked daily to Akbar by hundreds to Delhi. That young prince immediately issued a proclamation throughout the empire, that he had taken the administration upon himself, and that henceforth no orders, but his own, should be obeyed, Byram being dismissed from the regency.

Mali invades Cashmire. Mali, the great favourite of the emperor Humaioon, who had been confined in Lahore, having before this time found means to escape, went to Cumâl the Gicker, and engaged him in an expedition against Cashmire; but they were defeated with great slaughter. He is defeated, Mali flying to Debalpoor, joined himself with Bahadur, of Seistan, who commanded in that province on the part of Akbar, and stirred him up to rebel: but Bahadur, repenting of his resolution, a quarrel ensued between them, and Mali was driven towards the Indus. From the banks of that river he fled to Guzerat, and from thence to Jionpoor, from whence the captain-general Zemân, taken and confined. sent him prisoner to Agra. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the fort of Biana.

Various schemes of Byram. Byram, finding that he had no farther hopes from the king, began to form a resolution of going to Malava, to reduce that country, and found an independent kingdom. To accomplish his purpose, he proceeded to Biana, and called Bahadur and other omrahs, who had been sent upon the expedition to Malava before him. But perceiving that he was deserted by those chiefs, in whom he placed his greatest confidence, he began to despair of succeeding in that enterprize. He, therefore, released Mali from his confinement, intending by his assistance, and that of the captain-general, who commanded at Jionpoor, to attack the Patans of Bengal, and to fix himself in that kingdom. But before he had proceeded many days on this scheme, he changed his resolution,

lution, and took the way of Nagore, with a design to make a pilgrimage to Mecca; upon which, Bahadur, Kika, and many other omrahs, who had determined to follow his fortunes, took leave of him. But so irresolute was the unfortunate Byram become, at a time, too, when firmness, constancy, and perseverance were absolutely necessary, that, like a person infatuated, he had no sooner reached Nagore, after having lost all his friends, than he changed again his resolution of going to Mecca, and began to assemble troops, with a view to conquer the province of the five rivers, distinguished by the name of Punjab. A. D. 1558. Hig. 966. His irresolute behaviour.

When the king was informed of this new scheme of Byram, he sent the noble Shusvini, his own preceptor, with a message to him to the following purpose: "Till now our mind has been taken up with our education, and the amusements of youth, and it was our royal pleasure, that you should be responsible for our empire. But as it is now our intention to govern our people, by our own judgment and pleasure, let our well-wisher contract his skirts from the business of the world, and retire to Mecca, without thirsting after vanity and ambition." The king's message to him.

Byram, upon receiving this letter, professed passive obedience, and sent his ensigns of state, elephants, banners, and drums, by the hand of Hussein Kulli, to the king. He then returned to Nagore, to prepare for Mecca, being now abandoned by all his friends, except Willi Beg, Ismaiel Kulli, Shaw Kulli, Hassen Gadda, and Chaja Muziffer, the rest having joined the king. Among the latter, was the famous Mali, who, coming up to Akbar, when hunting, neglected to dismount, when he made his obeisance, for which he was immediately confined. He resolves to go to Mecca.

Byram having proceeded on his pilgrimage as far as Bickanere, repented of his resolution, and returned Repents of his resolution, and levies forces.

A.D. 1559. Hig. 967. returned again to Nagore, where he began to assemble troops. The king being informed of that proceeding, marched to Jidger. Pier Mahummud, being now returned from his banishment, to which he had been condemned by Byram, was thought a proper person to carry on the war against him. He was accordingly dignified with titles by the king, and sent with an army towards Nagore. The king, in the mean time, returned to Delhi, and sent orders to Monim, the governor of the kingdom of Cabul, to repair to court.

He returns towards Punjab. Byram, upon the approach of Pier Mahummud, set out for Punjab, and was closely pursued by that omrah. When he arrived at the fort of Tibberhind, he threw all his baggage into that place, which was commanded by one of his adherents, by name Shere; but this traitor no sooner had got Byram's effects into the place, than he began to reckon upon them as his own, and turned out the guard which the unfortunate minister had sent to take charge of his baggage. Byram set out from thence for Debalpoor, which was then governed by one of his old friends, Mahommed the Usbeck. When he came near the place, he sent his secretary, Muziffer Ali, to wait upon him; but that ungrateful man, pretending to be affronted at Byram's request, confined the secretary, and sent him to the king. Byram, who had conceived great hopes from his friendship, was astonished at a behaviour so common to men in adversity, and set out, in great perturbation of mind, towards Jallender.

Defeated. The king had, by this time, recalled Pier Mahummud, and appointed Azim to reduce Punjab, and to quell the rebellion of Byram. Azim coming up soon after with Byram, at Matchiwarrah, a battle ensued, which was maintained with great bravery on both sides; Azim's line being broke

broke by the enemy: but at length, several of Byram's principal officers being killed, he was defeated, and obliged to fly to the mountains of Sewalic. After this victory, the king appointed Chaja Hirrivi to the government of Delhi, by the title of the noble Asaph, and marched in person to Lahore. When Akbar had reached Ludhana, Monim met him on his way from Cabul, and being graciously received, was honoured with the title of first of the nobles, and made prime minister of the empire.

A. D. 1560. Hig. 968.

The king pursues him into the mountains;

The king's army having advanced near the mountains of Sewalic, a detachment of light horse entered the hills, where the Zemindars of that country had convened in support of Byram to guard the passes; but they were driven from post to post: upon which Byram, in great distress, sent his slave Jemmal to the presence, to represent his unfortunate situation, and to implore the king's mercy. Akbar immediately dispatched the omrah Abdulla, a native of Sultan-poor, with assurances of his clemency, and to bring the unhappy Byram to court. Accordingly, in the month of the second Ribbi, he was received, at some distance from the camp, by a considerable number of chiefs, whom the king had ordered to meet him. He was brought into the presence with every possible mark of favour and distinction. When he appeared within sight of the king, he hung his turban round his neck, and suddenly advancing, threw himself, in tears, at the foot of the throne. The king instantly stretched forth his hand, ordered him to rise, and placed him in his former station at the head of the omrahs. To dispel at once his uneasiness and grief, the king honoured him with a splendid dress, and spoke to him after the following manner: "If the lord Byram loves a military life, he shall have the government of Calpé and Chinderi, in which he

Byram submits.

A.D. 1560. Hig. 968. he may exercise his martial genius: if he chooses rather to remain at court, our favour shall not be wanting to the great benefactor of our family: but should devotion engage the soul of Byram to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, he shall be escorted in a manner suitable to his dignity." Byram replied: "The royal confidence and friendship for me must be now diminished; nay, they are past the hopes of recovery. Why then should I remain in the presence? The clemency of the king is enough for me, and his forgiveness for my late errors, a sufficient reward for my former services. Let then the unfortunate Byram turn his face from this world to another, and pursue his pilgrimage to Mecca." The king assented to his request, and ordered a proper retinue for him, with 50,000 rupees a year to support his dignity. Byram soon after took leave of the king, who, with a few attendants, left the camp, and went to Agra.

He resolves on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Takes the way of Guzerat.

Byram took the way of Guzerat, with an intention to proceed by sea to Mecca. When he arrived in the suburbs of the capital of Guzerat, which was then governed by Mussi, an omrah of the Afghan imperial family of Lodi, on the part of Actemad, sovereign of the country, he was accosted by Mubarick Lohani, whose father, in the battle with Himu, Byram had killed. The wretch pretended to embrace the unsuspecting Byram, drew a dagger, and basely stabbed him to the heart. A mob of Afghans fell immediately upon Byram's retinue, and plundered them. This murder happened on the 24th of the first Jemmad, in the 968th of the Higerah.

Akbar sends an army against Malava.

Towards the close of the year 968, the emperor appointed Adam and his favourite tutor Pier Mahummud to command an army destined for the conquest of Malava. Baz Bahadur, in whose hands that country was then, spent his time in luxurious

luxurious pleasures at Saringpoor, when he was informed of the expedition which the Moguls meditated against him: but the enemy had advanced within twenty miles of his capital, before he could prevail with himself to quit the pillows of indolence; and then, in the best manner the time and his own confusion would permit, he prepared for action. But the brave Moguls, upon the first onset, shook his order of battle, and sent him with streaming eyes and a broken heart towards Burhanpoor. A. D. 1560. Hig. 968.

Adam, after the victory, distributed the spoil and the governments of Malava among his followers, reserving the treasure, royal ensigns, and the ladies of the Haram, for himself. He sent nothing except a few elephants to the king, of what was customary on those occasions. Akbar, fearing from this behaviour, that he entertained treasonable intentions, put the royal standard in motion towards him. When the imperial ensigns appeared before Shakeran, the governor of that fort, on the part of Bas Bahadur, delivered it up to the king. Akbar from thence made a sudden excursion by night, and in the morning arrived before Saringpoor, the capital of Malava. He met Adam coming out with an intention to besiege Shakeran: he permitted that omrah to pay his respects, and then he carried him back to the city. Adam, suspecting the king's displeasure and the cause of his visit, laid all the treasure and spoil at his feet: he excused himself, by alleging, that he reserved every thing till he should have the honour of presenting them to Akbar in person. The king saw through his designs, but preferring clemency to rigour, he drew the pen of forgiveness over his crime. The king suspects Adam of treasonable intentions.

The king soon after returned towards Agra: hunting one day on the way near Narvar, a great royal tygress with five young ones took the road before Akbar kills an enormous tygress.

A.D. 1561. Hig. 969. before him. Akbar advanced to the animal, while his retinue stood trembling with fear and astonishment to behold the event. The king having meditated his blow, spurred on his horse towards the fierce tygress, whose eyes flamed with rage, and, with one stroke of his sabre, cut her across the loins, and stretched her dead upon the ground. The omrahs who were present, in excess of joy, ran to kiss his royal stirrup, and offer up their thanks to God for his preservation.

Transactions at Jionpoor. The king having remained some months at Agra, Sheri the son of the late emperor Mahommed, with 40,000 horse, advanced from Bengal to reduce the province of Jionpoor. He was opposed by the Mogul captain-general, who commanded that province with 12,000 horse, and received a total defeat. Bahadur, the brother of the captain-general, distinguished himself in a very particular manner in this action; so that the two brothers were esteemed the boldest warriors of the age: but reckoning too much on their services, they neglected to send to the king the elephants which they had taken in the battle, which were always considered as royal property. The king, though he gave to the brothers all due praise for their valour, would by no means permit any violation of his laws, or encroachment upon his prerogative: this determined him to march towards Jionpoor; but when he arrived at Kurrah, the brothers, sensible of his resolution and their own misbehaviour, advanced to congratulate him with all the spoils which they had taken, and other suitable presents. The king, whose generosity and clemency could be only equalled by his spirit, returned all, except what belonged properly to the exchequer. At the same time he gave them a gentle reproof for their neglect, and afterwards engaged

engaged their affections by his princely bounty and gracious favour. The king returned to Agra, and on the third day's march gave the brothers permission to go back to their government of Jionpoor. A.D. 1561. Hig. 969.

By the time that the king had reached Agra, Azim, governor of the provinces about the five heads of the Indus, and Adam who commanded at Malava, arrived at court according to orders, with suitable presents. The king gave the government of Malava to his tutor, Pier Mahummud, and the office of prime minister to Azim. The king, after these transactions, in the year 969, made a progress to Ajmere, to visit the shrine of Chaja: when Akbar arrived at Sumbre, Birbil, the Indian prince of that country, gave his daughter to him in marriage, and listed himself and his son Bowan Dass, among the number of the king's omrahs. When Akbar had reached Ajmere, and had performed his devotions, he sent the prince Hussein, of the imperial family of Timur, and governor of Ajmere, to invest the fort of Merta, which was in the territories of Maldeo, the unsubdued Indian prince of Marwar. He himself returned in three days and nights, with a retinue of six persons only to Agra, which was a distance of more than two hundred and sixty miles. Promotions at court.

The prince Hussein having advanced near Merta, Jig Jal and Dass, who were principal men of that country, threw a detachment into the place, and prepared for a siege. Hussein invested the fort, and began to carry on his approaches. In a few days he extended one of his mines under a bastion, and sprung it, by which a practicable breach was made. He advanced in person with a select body of troops to the assault, while the enemy bravely filled the breach to oppose him. Though fresh supplies of troops mounted from time Hussein besieges Merta;

A. D. 1561. Hig. 969. time to time, they were so warmly received, that Hussein was obliged to sound a retreat, and the next morning he found that the breach was filled up by the Indian soldiers, who had continued to work, notwithstanding the fire he had kept up, the whole night. The siege being prolonged for some months, the brave garrison were unable to hold out longer, and desired to capitulate; their request was granted, and the terms were, that they should march out with all their arms and horses. Jig Jal, according to these terms, left all his money and effects, and marched forth; but Dewan Dass, who had been averse to the capitulation, collected five hundred of the garrison together, and having burnt all their effects, they rushed out of the place. Hussein having heard of this breach of the capitulation, ordered them to be attacked, and the rajaputs, on the other hand, fought with such valour, that they cut their way through the Mogul army with the loss of two hundred and fifty of their number. Among the slain was Dewan Dass, whose head his friends carried away when they saw him mortally wounded, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Hussein, after having possessed himself of the fort, wrote an account of his victory to the king, and was honoured with particular favours.

which is taken.

Transactions in the province of Malava.

Pier Mahummud, governor of Malava, a man of resolution and abilities, took up his residence in Shadi-abad-mendu, and carried on the war with Bas Bahadur with such success, that he entirely possessed himself of his dominions. He took the strong fort of Bijanagur, and put all the garrison to the sword, as they obliged him to risque an assault. Bas Bahadur having taken protection under the governor of Brampoor, on the borders of the Decan, he sometimes, by the aid of that chief, made incursions into the territo-

ries

ries of Malava, and kept the country in a state of hostility. Pier Mahummud was obliged to march against Brampoor; and having taken it, ordered a cruel massacre of all the inhabitants, among whom was a number of philosophers and learned men, who resided in the place. A.D. 1561. Hig. 969.

Before Pier Mahummud had left this place, Bas Bahadur having prevailed upon Mubarick and Tiffâl, the former the prince of Candez in the Decan, and the latter of Berar, to join him, advanced with a great army towards the Mogul, upon which he retreated to Bijanagur, his officers being all averse to engage. However, he resolved to halt at Bijanagur, contrary to all their opinions, and to give battle to the enemy. He did it, but not being supported by his officers, he was defeated, and being dismounted by a camel that attacked his horse in crossing the rapid river Narbudda, he was drowned. The enemy continuing the pursuit, drove the Moguls from place to place, as far as Agra, without being able to make one stand before them; so that Bas Bahadur, in the year 969, recovered his whole dominions of Malava. The king, immediately after this disaster, appointed Abdulla, an Usbeck, chief in his service, governor of Calpee, to carry on the war against Bas Bahadur. Abdulla drove him a second time out of his country among the mountains of Comilmere, and re-established the government of the Moguls in Mindu, and fixed his own residence as superintendant in that city. The Mogul governor overthrown and slain. Malava lost, and recovered.

Seid Beg, the son of Mufum Beg, of the imperial family of Suffvi, and absolute agent for the king of Persia, arrived much about this time at the court of Agra, in the character of an ambassador, with valuable presents, and received a present for himself of two lacks of rupees from the king. Azim, who had been some time before An embassy from Persia.

A.D. 1561. Hig. 969.

fore appointed to the office of vizier, had acquired great influence in his ministerial department. Adam, who commanded at the first conquest of Malava, and by that exploit had acquired great power in the presence, attempted to bring about the prime minister's ruin, as some courtiers had before done that of the famous Byram: but the intrigues of Adam were discovered, and his calumnies reverted upon his own head. Stung with disappointed malice, he at last determined to act the assassin himself. He accordingly one day in the audience chamber, while the minister was reading the Koran, according to custom, stabbed him, under pretence that he took no notice of the salutation which Adam made him at his entrance, though he well knew, that at such a time it was not customary to make or return any compliments. Adam, after having committed the murder, ascended one of the terraces, and stood there in hopes of the king's pardon, though he might otherwise have escaped.

Adam basely assassinates the vizier.

Adam is killed by the king.

The king, who had been asleep in the apartments of the ladies, hearing the noise that was made on this occasion, asked the cause. When they informed him of what had happened, he arose, and without changing his sleeping dress, went up to the terrace in a great rage. He was struck with horror when he saw the blood of his minister. Having approached the murderer with a sword in his hand, he drew it half out, but reflecting upon his own dignity, he returned it again into the scabbard, and sternly asked the assassin, Why have you killed my vizier? The wretch, fearing that the king was going to kill him, seized his hands. This behaviour so enraged Akbar, that, disengaging himself, he struck him, with a blow of his fist, and laid him senseless at his feet. In this rage he ordered one of

his attendants to throw the wretch over the wall, which was forty yards in height, Mahim Anigah, this unfortunate man's father, died with grief about a month after, and Monim, formerly governor of Cabul, who was an abetter of the assassination of the minister, fled to Lahore, where he was seized and sent to Agra: but as the proofs against him were not sufficient to condemn him, he was acquitted by the king, and had afterwards the address to work himself into favour. A.D. 1562. Hig. 970.

The king conferred all the honours and estates of his father upon Aziz, the eldest son of the deceased vizier, excepting the offices of the vizarit and vakilit*. The prince Adam, sovereign of those mountaineers, called the Gickers, disturbing the peace of Punjab, the governors of that country were ordered to reduce him, and place Kummal, one of the same nation, upon the throne. Kummal had been once miraculously preserved from death. Selim, the late emperor of the Afghan race, ordered a prison, wherein he was at Gualier with some hundreds of his nation who had been taken prisoners, to be blown up with gunpowder. This was done, and Kummal was thrown to some distance, without receiving any considerable hurt. The same year Kummal, by the aid of the Mogul chiefs, marched against his countrymen, the Gickers, reduced that fierce nation, and took their sovereign, Adam, prisoner. The Gickers reduced.

Chaja, the father of the famous Hussein, came about this time from Turkestan to Lahore: he was there met by his son, and brought to Agra, the king himself going out to congratulate him, as he was of the race of Abdulla, one of the

 greatest

* The vizarit and valkilit are often joined in the same person, but the latter is reckoned the first office in the empire.

A.D. 1562. Hig. 970. greatest saints in Turkestan. Not long after these transactions, Hussein, a prince of the posterity of Timur, whom we have often mentioned, either struck with madness, or some unknown apprehensions, fled to Ajmere with all the forces intrusted by the emperor to his care. This revolt occasioned great disturbances in that country; to quell which, Hussein Kulli, the nephew of the regent Byram, was nominated to the government of Nagore, and ordered to proceed thither with a great force. Hussein having received intelligence of Kulli's march, left Ajmere in charge of one of his friends, and retreated to Jalore, on the frontiers of the kingdom of Guzerat. Kulli proceeded to Ajmere, and possessed himself of that place by capitulation. Mali, the famous favourite of the emperor Humaioon, who had been released from his confinement upon promise of proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mecca, hearing of the rebellion of the prince Hussein on the way, returned and joined him. He marched by his command with a body of horse, towards Narnoul, and there committed hostilities. Hussein Kulli, the imperial general, detached two omrahs, Ahmed and Eusoph, against him, while he marched in person against the prince Hussein. Mali lay in ambush for the troops which were sent against him. They fell into the snare, and were defeated with great slaughter, the two generals being slain in the action. The king at that time taking the diversion of hunting at Muttra, received intelligence of the defeat of his troops, and sent another army against Mali. The rebel fled before the imperial forces to Punjab, and from thence to the prince Hakim, the king's brother at Cabul. Hakim gave to Mali his sister in marriage, and raised him to the first office in that kingdom, for which he by that time paid little or no homage to Akbar.

Rebellion of Hussein.

Mali joins Hussein.

Defeats the imperialists.

Flies to Cabul.

The

The ungrateful refugee, however, had not been many months in station, before he aspired to the kingdom of Cabul, and basely assassinated the prince Hakim's mother, his own mother-in-law, who was a woman of uncommon abilities, and might with truth be said to have ruled that kingdom. He then pretended to act as regent for the young prince, who was still in his minority, with a view to get rid of him as soon as he could conciliate matters with the chiefs. In the mean time Soliman, prince of Buduchshan, came against him, and cut off the opening flower of his ambition, by depriving him of his life. Hussein having heard of the retreat of Mali, fled to Ahmedabad, in Guzerat.

A.D. 1563. Hig. 971.

His villany,

and death.

The king about this time made a progress towards Delhi. As he was passing by the college of Anniga, a slave of the rebel, the prince Hussein, by name Fowlad, who had been sent to assassinate the king, fixed an arrow in his bow, and pointed it towards the sky. The royal retinue, imagining that the villain was going to shoot at some bird flying over head, gazed upward; he immediately lowered his aim to the king, who was at some distance upon his elephant, and let fly his arrow, which lodged itself some inches deep in Akbar's shoulder. In a moment a thousand swords were drawn, and the people cut one another, each anxious to kill the assassin, who was in a moment hewn to pieces. The surgeons being called, the arrow was, with great difficulty, extracted on the place, before all the people, the king not shrinking once at the operation: in about ten days the wound was closed up, Akbar returned to Agra, and soon after appointed A[illegible]ph, of whom we shall make frequent mention hereafter, governor of Kurrah and Maneckpoor.

An attempt against the king's life.

A. D. 1563. Hig. 971.

The king did not rest many days at Agra, before he set out for Narvar to hunt elephants. He had ordered Abdulla, the Usbeck, who governed for him in Malava, to send his trained elephants to assist in this amusement, which he neglected to do. The king was very much enraged at his disobedience, and made a sudden incursion into Malava, though the periodical rains were at their height. Mahummud, a native of Neishapoor, in the kingdom of Seistan, governor of Saringpoor, joined the king by the way. When Akbar had reached Ugein, Abdulla, with all his forces and treasure, fled to Guzerat: the king pursued him about fifty miles, with a small body of cavalry: the rebel stood his ground, and fought with such success, that Akbar thought proper to return from the pursuit to Mindu, where he surveyed the buildings erected there by the imperial family of the Chilligis. While Akbar remained in that city, Mubarick, king of Chandez in the Decan, paid him homage, and gave him his daughter in marriage. The king conferred the government of Malava upon one Shirra, and returned towards his capital. Upon the way, near the village of Sipiri, he fell in with a great herd of wild elephants; he ordered his cavalry to surround them, and he drove them, with great difficulty, into a fold constructed for that purpose: one of the male elephants, of a prodigious size, finding himself confined, strode over the ditch, bore down the wall and the palisadoes before him, and made his way into the plain. Three trained elephants were sent after him: he stood to fight, and before they could overcome and take him, he afforded very great diversion to the king, who was remarkably fond of the boisterous contention of those enormous animals.

The governor of Malava revolts.

He flies to Guzerat.

The king of Chandez in the Decan submits to Akbar.

In

In the yeat 972 Chaja Moazim, the brother of the sultana Chuli, and husband to the king's aunt, for some impropriety of behaviour, was thrown into prison, where he died. The same year the old fort of Agra, which was built of brick, was demolished, and the foundation of the new one of red freestone laid; and though a great and magnificent work, was finished in four years. A.D. 1564. Hig. 972. Transactions at Agra.

By the intrigues of Abdulla, the Usbeck, so often mentioned, there was a report propagated, that the king, on his account, had taken a dislike to all the Usbeck race, and proposed to confine all the chiefs of that nation who were in his service. This calumny gained so much credit, that Secunder and Ibrahim, both Usbecks, and others, who had governments about Jionpoor and Behar, turned their heads from obedience, and drew over the captain-general Zeman, and his brother, the famous Bahadur, together with Shubiani, to their party: Asaph, who held the government of Kurrah, on account of some disputes with the collector of the king's revenues, took part in their rebellion. In a short time their army consisted of thirty thousand horse, with which they possessed themselves of all the territories near Behar and Jionpoor. The Usbeck omrahs rebel.

News of this rebellion being brought to the king, he seemed to take no notice of it. He ordered his troops to attend him on a hunting party towards Narvar, in the opposite direction to the enemy. He accordingly employed himself in taking elephants for some days; during which time Asherif, a scribe, was sent privately to Secunder, one of the chief rebels, to endeavour to bring him over from his faction. Laskar was sent with a great body of horse to seize the treasures of Asaph, upon whom the king had a large de- The policy of Akbar.

 mand,

A.D. 1564. Hig. 972. mand, which was the sole cause of that chief's rebellion.

Asaph's war with the queen of Gurrah.

It seems, that when Asaph was made an omrah of five thousand, and obtained the government of Kurrah and Maneckpoor, he obtained permission of the king to subdue a country, called Gurrah or Kattuc, lying between the provinces of Rintimpore, Malava, Behar, and the Decan. At that time the kingdom of Gurrah * was governed by a queen, whose name was Durgetti, famous for her beauty and accomplishments: her dominions were about three hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth: yet so flourishing was the country, that in this small tract there were about seventy thousand towns and villages well inhabited, which had the good fortune never to have fallen under the dominion of foreigners.

Asaph having heard of the riches of this country, disturbed the peaceable inhabitants, unaccustomed to the sound of war, with constant depredations; he at length marched against them with six thousand horse, and about double that number of infantry. The queen, with fifteen hundred elephants, eight thousand horse and some foot, prepared to oppose him. Like a bold heroine, she led on her troops to action, cloathed in armour, with a helmet upon her head, mounted in a castle upon an elephant, with her bow and quiver lying by her side, and a burnished lance in her hand. Though her troops had not been accustomed to action, the love of national independence, and the example of their queen, inspired every breast with a lion's courage. Their eagerness to engage, made them march in disorder towards the enemy; which the queen observing,

* Now part of Orissa and Bundel-cund.

ing, commanded them to halt, and, forming her line anew, gave her troops strict orders to march on slowly, as compact as possible, and to observe the signal to engage, when it should be displayed from the elephant of the royal standard. A.D. 1564. Hig. 972.

In this manner she received the enemy, whom she quickly repulsed, and pressing upon them, laid six hundred Mogul horsemen dead on the field; she pursued the rest till the evening with great slaughter. When night came on, the queen halted with her army, and gave them orders to wash and refresh themselves, that they might be prepared for a night attack upon the enemy, before they could recover from their consternation. But her minister, and the rest of her chiefs, less daring, and consequently less prudent than this heroine, opposed this salutary measure, and seditiously insisted on returning to the field of battle, to bury their friends. She, accordingly, returned unwillingly; and, after the dead were burnt, again addressed her chiefs, and solicited them, one by one, to accompany her to storm the Mogul camp: none of them, however, had the spirit to second her in this daring enterprize. They vainly imagined, that the enemy would of their own accord evacuate the country.

The chiefs of the little kingdom of Gurrah, soon found that they were fatally frustrated in their hopes. Asaph, to wipe away the disgrace which he had sustained the day before, and finding what enemy he had to deal with, advanced in the morning towards the queen, with his artillery; which, in the preceding action, he had left behind him, on account of the badness of the roads. The queen, upon Asaph's approach, advanced to a narrow pass, and prepared to oppose him. The Mogul, scouring the pass with

 his

A.D. 1564. Hig. 972. his artillery, soon opened to himself a way into the plain beyond it, where the queen's army was drawn up in order of battle. The prince Biâr, the queen's son, a youth of great hopes, as soon as the Moguls came into the plain, made a resolute charge, and exhibited prodigies of valour. He repulsed the enemy twice; but in the third attack, being wounded, he became faint with loss of blood. When he was just falling from his horse, his mother, who was mounted on an elephant in the front of the battle, observed her son ready to expire. She immediately called to some of her people to carry him back to the rear; many of them accordingly crowded around him, some with a friendly intention to serve him, but more to have an opportunity to quit the field. The loss of the prince, in short, together with the retreat of so many with his person, struck a panic into the rest, so that the unfortunate queen was left only with three hundred men in the field. Durgetti, however, seemed no ways affected by her desperate situation; she stood her ground with her former fortitude, till she received an arrow in her eye; she endeavoured to extricate it from the wound, but as she tugged it, part of the steel broke short, and remained behind. In the mean time, another arrow passed through her neck, which she also drew out; but nature sinking under the pain, a dimness swam before her eyes, and she began to nod from side to side of the howdar *. She, however, recovered from her fainting by degrees; and a brave officer of her household, by name Adhar, who drove her elephant, singly repulsed numbers of the enemy whithersoever he turned the outrageous animal. He begged permission, as the

* A wooden tower on the back of the elephant.

the day was now irretrievable, to carry the queen from the field. She rejected the proposal with a noble disdain: "It is true, said she, we are overcome in war, but shall we ever be vanquished in honour? Shall we, for the sake of a lingering ignominious life, lose that reputation and virtue, which we have been so solicitous to acquire? No: let your gratitude now repay that service for which I lifted up your head, and which I now require at your hands. Haste, I say; let your dagger save me from the crime of putting a period to my own existence." A. D. 1564. Hig. 972.

Adhar burst into tears, and begged, that as the elephant was swift of foot, he might be permitted to leave the field, and carry her to a place of safety. In the mean time, the queen finding that the enemy crowded fast around her, and that she must be taken prisoner, suddenly leaning forward, seized the dagger of Adhar, and, plunging it into her bosom, expired. The death of the queen rendered Asaph's victory complete. Six Indian chiefs upon their elephants still stood firm; and, ashamed of being outdone by a woman, dedicated their lives to revenge the death of the queen.

Asaph, a few days after this battle, laid siege to the fortress of Jora, where all the treasures of this noble family had been for ten generations deposited. The hopes of gain rendered the Moguls desperate; they begun to attack the fort with uncommon resolution till the place was taken. The young prince, now a little recovered from his wounds, bravely exerted what little strength he had left, lost his life in defence of his independence and kingdom. The unfortunate garrison, according to their barbarous custom, had performed the joar *. This dreadful ceremony was

* The joar is a general massacre of the women and children.

A.D. 1564. Hig. 972. was performed after this manner: a house was filled with wood, straw and oil: the unfortunate victims were forced in, and fire set to the horrid pile. When the bloody conquerors, who had brought this dreadful calamity upon the miserable Indians, entered the place, they found two women still alive, and untouched by the flames; one of them was called Camelawilli, the sister of the deceased queen, and the other the daughter of the Indian prince of Biragur, who had been brought to be espoused by the young but unfortunate prince of Gurrah. These two ladies were reserved by Asaph for the king. The riches of the fortress of Jora, in gold, silver, jewels and precious effects, were invaluable; of gold alone, there were found, in one treasury, one hundred and one chests of mhers. When Asaph had glutted his avarice and ambition with the treasure and blood of this brave though peaceable family, he took up his residence in that country. His view was to maintain his conquest against the king; and he, therefore, did not return to his government of Kurrah. That avarice, which prompted him to this public robbery, prevented him from presenting the king with his part of the plunder. Out of a thousand elephants, which he had taken, though all should fall to the share of the king, he sent him only two hundred of the worst, and sent no part of the jewels and treasure. It was therefore this just demand which the king had upon Asaph, that made that ambitious omrah join in rebellion with the disaffected Usbeck chiefs.

The king marches against Asaph, falls sick and returns.

The king having found that his general Laskar could effect nothing against Asaph, he determined to march in person into Gurrah. Having therefore left Narvar, he continued his route for some days towards Gurrah. Akbar being seized with a fever on account of the heat, which

 in

in that sandy soil was excessive, he returned to Agra, dispatched Shahim Sellaori, Biddai, Amin, and other omrahs, against Secunder the Usbeck, by whom they were defeated, and the two last taken prisoners. The king, apprised of this disaster, sent Monim, who had been dignified with the title of first of the nobles, with an army some days journey in front, and, in the month of Shawal 973, followed in person with all the forces he could raise. A. D. 1565. Hig. 973.

When the king had arrived at Kinnoge, he selected a body of horse, and made an excursion towards Lucknow, the capital of the province of Oud, to surprise Scounder, the rebellious Usbeck, who was in that place: but the rebel being informed of the emperor's approach, evacuated Lucknow, and fled to his associate in treason, Zeman, the captain-general, with whom he crossed the Ganges. The king proceeding to Jionpoor, Asaph sued for pardon, and by the mediation of the noble Mudgenu, was admitted to the presence, and again restored to favour, upon settling his accounts concerning the plunder of Gurrah. A few days after his submission, Asaph was detached with five thousand chosen horse against the enemy. He came to the ferry of Nirhin, and was opposed in crossing the river; but instead of making any dispositions to gain the passage, he sat down and passed the time in riot and foolish negotiations, for which he had no authority. The king being informed of his negligence, stripped him of his estate. Asaph, with his brother, relinquished his troops, and set out with great expedition to Gurrah.

The king marches against Lucknow.

Asaph submits.

His misbehaviour,

and flight to Gurrah.

The king sent his general Monim, to take charge of the army which Asaph had forsaken; and the rebels in the mean time, under Secunder and Bahadur, crossed the Jumna, and raised disturbances

Motions of the rebels.

A.D. 1565. Hig. 973.

turbances in the provinces between the rivers, while the captain-general opposed the imperial army at the Ganges. The king being informed of these motions, detached Bidda and other omrahs, under the command of the Amir Ulluck, to stop the progress of Bahadur; but in the mean time Zeman the captain-general, repenting of his disloyalty, sent a number of elephants and other presents to the king; and Monim interceding for his pardon, Akbar was prevailed upon to receive him into favour, and draw the pen of oblivion over his crimes. He confirmed him in all his estates and honours, which he had forfeited by his rebellion.

Zeman submits.

The Imperial army under Ul Muluck overthrown by the rebels.

Ul Muluck having come up with Secunder and Bahadur, was upon the point of engaging them, when he received a letter from Bahadur, acquainting him that his brother Zeman had sent his mother with presents to the king to intercede for pardon, and therefore that he would be glad to avoid extremities, till he heard the consequence of that negotiation. Muluck, who had heard nothing of this matter, thinking it to be a political fetch to gain time or lull him to security, paid no regard to it, but drew out in order of battle. Secunder, who commanded the van of the rebel army, made the best disposition the time would permit to receive him, but was obliged to retreat with great loss towards the body of the army, which by this time was formed by Bahadur. The Imperialists, who from the flight of Secunder, concluded the victory already their own, pursuing in an irregular manner, were received so warmly by Bahadur, that they were repulsed in turn, and would never more shew their face to the pursuers, so that the rebels gained a complete victory and great spoil. The Imperial general fled with the scattered remains of his army to Kinnoge.

Akbar,

Akbar, in the mean time, as peace was concluded with Zeman, went to take a view of the fortifications of Chinar and the city of Benaris. When the news of the late defeat of the Imperialists arrived in the royal camp, Zeman, though so lately pardoned, being destitute of every principle of gratitude, loyalty and honour, again deserted and took possession of Ghazipoor and the adjacent territories. The king, enraged at this baseness, flew into a violent passion with his general Monim, by whose mediation he had pardoned Zeman. He immediately ordered the captain-general's mother to be confined, and with all expedition marched towards the traitor, who upon his approach fled to the hills. Bahadur taking advantage of the king's absence from Jionpoor, entered that place, and took the citadel by escalade, where he released his mother, and confined Asherif the imperial governor, with all the principal persons in the garrison. A.D. 1566. Hig. 974. Zeman again rebels. The rebels take Jionpoor,

The king, hearing of the taking of Jionpoor, gave over the pursuit of Zeman, and returning towards that city, issued out orders to all the viceroys of the provinces to join him with all their forces. Upon Akbar's approach, Bahadur evacuated Jionpoor, and fled towards Benaris. The rebel Zeman now seeing such preparations against him, in all the provinces which remained firm in their allegiance, began again to despair of success, and had the confidence to address the king a second time for pardon, which by a strange perversion of policy, and an unjustifiable act of clemency, or rather weakness in the king, he obtained, as well as a confirmation of all his estates and honours. The king, after passing his royal word for all these favours, ordered Zeman to come to court: but the traitor excused himself, by pretending that shame for his past offences would not permit him to appear in the presence, which is retaken by the king. Zeman pardoned a second time.

till

A.D. 1566. Hig. 974.

till time should erase his behaviour from his majesty's mind; that as soon as the king should return to Agra, both he and his brother Bahadur would accept the honour which the royal benevolence intended to confer upon them.

The king's weakness.

It surprises, it even disgusts the friends of the memory of the renowned Akbar, to find that he should admit of this excuse, or trust to the oath of a man already perjured: but the sincere mind of Akbar, could not suspect in others that baseness which was a stranger to his own soul. He returned to Agra, and left this snake to collect fresh poison. When Akbar had arrived at Agra, he sent Mendi with four thousand horse, to drive Asaph out of his government of Gurrah, which he had still in his possession.

Zeman again revolts.

Zeman, as might have been foreseen, took this opportunity to strengthen his party. Treason still fermented in secret within his soul, and he invited Asaph to join him. Asaph accepted of the proposal, and left Gurrah in possession of his friend and dependant Cassim. Zeman in the mean time, forgetting his oath to wait on the king at Agra, during six months maintained himself in a princely independence over all the eastern provinces. Asaph, who had by this time joined him, finding himself neglected and treated with contempt, fled to Kurrah his original Jagier, was pursued by Bahadur, defeated and taken prisoner. In the mean time Asaph's brother, vizier Chan, who had escaped in the action, rallied the troops, and returning, surprised the conquerors, and rescued Asaph out of their hands. The brothers then fell upon Kurrah, and possessed themselves of that country.

An embassy from Cabul.

An ambassador about this time, arrived from the prince Hakim, the king's brother, who governed Cabul, acquainting him, that their cousin Soliman

Soliman of Buduchshan, ever since he had defeated and killed Mali, continued to read the Chutba of Cabul in his own name; that he had appointed Mirza Sultan to act in that city in his behalf, which had obliged Hakim to expel him from that office; for which affront Soliman was again preparing to invade Cabul: he therefore earnestly entreated Akbar's aid to oppose him.

A.D. 1566. Hig. 974.

The king fearing more from the encroachments of his northern enemies, than from the soft sons of the eastern provinces, immediately ordered the governors of the countries about the five heads of the Indus, and the noble Kulli viceroy of Moultan, to assist Hakim, as soon as ever they should be certain of the enemies attempts upon Cabul. Feredoon of Cabul, who was one of the king's omrahs, was also sent from the presence with what troops he retained in pay to succour Hakim: but before the royal orders arrived either at Punjab or Moultan, and consequently long before any succours could reach Cabul, Soliman had invested that city. Hakim evacuated it in a few days, and retreated to the Nilab, one of the branches of the Indus, where he met Feredoon coming to his assistance. This treacherous omrah, proposed to Hakim to seize upon Lahore, assuring him that Akbar was in no condition to oppose him, being involved in a war with the Usbeck rebels, who had possessed themselves of all the eastern provinces: that after he should be possessed of that rich and powerful province, he would find little difficulty in driving Soliman out of Cabul.

The king issues orders to aid his brother at Cabul.

The unprincipled and weak Hakim, insensible of the baseness of this project, ungratefully began to take measures to put it in execution, and marched to Lahore in conjunction with Feredoon. Hakim's design upon Lahore being noised abroad, the omrahs of the provinces of the five rivers, particularly

Hakim's designs upon Lahore.

A.D. 1566. Hig. 974. particularly Cuttub Anniga, and Pier Mahummud, threw all their forces into the city, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Hakim sat down before the place, and used every art and persuasion to bring over those omrahs to his interest, but without effect.

Besieges that city.

The king marches towards Lahore.

The king, enraged as well as alarmed at this rebellion, laid aside his intended expedition against the Usbecks, and turned his arms towards Lahore. He began his march towards that city on the 14th of the first Jemmad 974, leaving Agra under the government of his faithful general Monim. Akbar having arrived at Sirhind, the news of his approach reached Lahore. The citizens immediately began to beat their drums, to sound their trumpets, and to make every demonstration of joy. This unusual noise waked Hakim, who was asleep in his tent: he asked the meaning of that uproar, and was told that the king was come expeditiously from Agra. Hakim believing that the king was already at his heels, mounted his horse without delay, and retreated precipitately with his cavalry towards Cabul: he came very opportunely to that city, and took it by surprise. Soliman having retired to Buduchshan during the winter. The king in the mean time advanced to Lahore, where he spent a few days in hunting: he then sent back Mudgenu to possess himself of Kurrah and Maneckpoor, which Asaph had seized. Much about this time the sons of Mirza Sultan governor of Simbol, rose in rebellion. This insurrection was crushed in the bud by the other Mogul chiefs who were possessed of estates in the adjacent territories. The young rebels were defeated and driven towards Malava. They however possessed themselves of that country without much opposition, there being at that time no imperial forces in that province. Mirza Sultan upon account

account of the rebellion of his sons, was seized and imprisoned in Biana, where he soon after died. A. D. 1566. Hig. 974.

The Usbeck rebellious chiefs in the eastern provinces improved the king's absence to their own advantage, and extended their conquests on all sides. This obliged the king to return to Agra, before which city he ordered all his forces from the provinces to rendezvous. He was in a few weeks ready to take the field against the rebels, with two thousand elephants, and above a hundred thousand horse. The rebellious captain general at that time besieging Eusoph in the fort of Sherigur, hearing of the king's approach, retreated to Kurrah, in which place his brother Bahadur had invested Mudgenu, the imperial general. The king closely pursued Zeman, but when he had reached Raibarrili, he heard that the rebel was crossing the Ganges, with an intention to march to Malava, and join the sons of Mirza Sultan, who had possessed themselves of that province, or to make an alliance with the king of the Decan. The king marches against the Usbeck omrahs.

The king hastened his march, and arrived at the ferry of Maneckpoor in the evening. No boats could be procured, and Akbar, impatient to engage the rebels, mounted his elephant, and contrary to the advice of all his omrahs, took the river, which was then very deep, and had the good fortune to pass over in safety; one hundred horse plunged into the stream and swam after the king. Akbar, in the morning, came before the enemy's camp with his hundred horse, and Mudgenu and Asaph joined him immediately with all the garrison of Kurrah. The king swims across the Ganges.

The enemy, not suspecting that the king would attempt to cross the river without his army, had spent the night in festivity, and could hardly believe their senses, when they heard the royal drums beating the imperial march. They at He comes before the rebel army.

 length

A.D. 1566. Hig. 974. length in the utmost confusion began to form their line, but before they were in complete order, Akbar charged them with great violence: Baba Chan, at the head of the king's light scouts, penetrated through the camp of the rebels as far as the tents of Zeman, where he was repulsed by Bahadur, and driven back with precipitation among the king's ranks, which occasioned some disorder among the files of Mudgenu. Bahadur, in the mean time, turned towards the centre, where the king commanded in person: Akbar observing him, came down from his elephant, and mounting a horse, pressed towards him; but by this time an arrow having killed Bahadur's horse, he was obliged to retreat on foot, among his own troops. The king immediately commanded his few elephants to advance; those animals engaging furiously with those of the enemy, killed some of them upon the spot, and drove back the rest among their own ranks.

The rebels totally overthrown. Zeman, encouraging his men, still continued the action with great bravery, till his horse having received two wounds, he was obliged to quit him, and while he was mounting another, he was trodden to death by an elephant. The rebels now fell into confusion: distracted for want of orders, they turned their face to flight. Bahadur was taken prisoner, and carried before the king. What evil have I done to you, said Akbar, thus to provoke you to draw the sword of treason against me? He ordered that particular care should be taken of Bahadur; but some of the omrahs, as soon as the king's back was turned, fearing that his clemency would pardon that consummate rebel, prevented it by putting him immediately to the sword. Akbar, though it is highly probable that he would have forgiven Bahadur, made no inquiries concerning his death.

death. The heads of the brothers were sent to Punjab and Cabul. Alli Beg, the Usbeck, Ear Alli, Mirza Beg, Cusal Beg, and Amir Shaw, a native of Buduchshan, all rebel chiefs, were also taken prisoners, and carried by the king to Jionpoor, where they were trodden to death by elephants. This decisive action happened upon the first of Zihidge 974, and is an instance of the daring intrepidity of the renowned Akbar. A.D. 1567. Hig. 975.

Settlement of the east. The government of Kurrah was conferred upon the faithful Monim, known by the title of first of the nobles, and soon after Secunder, the Usbeck, who was besieged in the fort of Jud, fled to Gorricpoor. The rebellion of the Usbecks being thus quashed, and the peace of the eastern provinces restored, the king, in the month of Mohirrim 975, returned in triumph to Agra.

Akbar reduces Malava. During the rebellion of the chiefs of the Usbeck Tartars in the service of India, the Raja, Udai Singh, had taken great advantage of Akbar's distress. This determined the emperor, without remaining long at Agra, to march against that Indian prince. Having arrived before the fort of Suisoob, the governor evacuated the place and retreated to his master Surjun, the Hindoo prince of Rintimpore. Akbar left a garrison in Suisoob, and proceeded to the fort of Kakeran, on the frontiers of Malava. The sons of Sultan Mirza, who had possessed themselves of Mindu, hearing of the emperor's progress, were greatly perplexed. To complete their misfortunes, Ali Mirza, their great friend and counsellor, died at that time, and his adherents fled with precipitation towards the kingdom of Guzerat.

The king invests Chitor. The king left Malava under the charge of Ahmed of Neshapoor, and marched from Kakeran to expel the Indian prince from Chitor. The

 raja

A.D. 1567. Hig. 975. raja left eight thousand disciplined rajaputs, with a great store of provisions, in the fort of Chitor, which is built on a mountain, and retired himself with his family to an inaccessible place. The king immediately invested Chitor, and set five thousand pioneers to work in throwing up trenches, and carrying on approaches to the place. When he had completed two batteries, and carried two mines under different bastions, he endeavoured to spring them at once: but one of them going off before the other, blew up one of the bastions, and made a practicable breach. Two thousand men who were prepared to storm, advanced immediately, upon a supposition that both of the mines had been sprung. They divided into two bodies, in order to enter at once both branches: one of the parties advancing near the bastion, perceived that the mine had not been sprung, but before they could retreat, it blew up, and killed above five hundred of the Moguls, and about double that number of the enemy who were crowded on the bastion. Among the latter were fifteen chiefs of distinction. The explosion so terrified those who were entering the breach, that they retreated in the utmost consternation.

The king kills the governor of Chitor. Another mine was immediately carried on by the king, but as he was one day standing in one of the batteries, he perceived Jeimal, the governor of the place, very assiduous in filling up the breaches, and giving orders for the defence: the king immediately called for a fuzee, and took so good an aim that he lodged the ball in Jeimal's forehead, and laid him dead on the spot. The spirit of the besieged fell with their chief, and in the utmost despair they performed the horrid ceremony of the Joar, put all their wives and children to the sword, and burned their bodies with

with that of their governor, on a prodigious funeral pile. The imperial army perceived what was going on by the light of the fire: they advanced under the cover of night to the breach, which they found abandoned, so that they entered the place without opposition. It was daylight before a number sufficient to attack the enemy could enter; then the king in person led on his men, and the unfortunate garrison devoting themselves to death, had retired to their temples. Akbar perceiving that he must lose a great number of his troops in case of a close attack, ordered a distant fire to be kept up upon the desperate rajaputs, till he had introduced three hundred elephants of war, which he immediately ordered to advance to tread them to death. The scene became now too shocking to be described. Brave men rendered more valiant by despair, crowded around the elephants, seized them even by the tusks, and inflicted upon them unavailing wounds. The terrible animals trode the Indians like grasshoppers under their feet, or winding them in their powerful trunks, tossed them aloft into the air, or dashed them against the walls and pavements. Of the garrison, which consisted of eight thousand soldiers, and of forty thousand inhabitants, thirty thousand were slain, and the most of the rest taken prisoners. A few escaped in the confusion, by tying their own children like captives, and driving them through the king's camp. They by this means passed undiscovered, being taken for some of the followers of the camp.

A.D. 1567. Hig. 975.

Chitor stormed.

A dreadful slaughter.

The government of the strong fort of Chitor, was given to Asaph Hirrivi, and the king returned towards his capital. On the way a tyger happened to be roused before him; he gave orders that nobody should touch him, and riding forward himself, he began to wound him with

The king in danger from a tyger.

 arrows.

A.D. 1567. Hig. 975. arrows. The terrible animal stood growling on a rising ground near the king, and being enraged by his wounds, he ran directly towards Akbar, who stood to receive him with his lance. One of his attendants, named Adil, fearing the consequence, rushed between Akbar and the tyger, and aimed a fortunate blow at the animal; but he himself was tossed under his paws, and would have in a moment expired, had not some others rushed to his assistance, and given the tyger a deadly wound, which both saved the king and Adil from imminent danger.

Disturbances in Guzerat quelled.

Akbar having arrived at Agra, received advices that Ibrahim Hussein and Mahommed, had revolted from Zingis, prince of Guzerat, and were again returned to Malava, having commenced hostilities with the siege of Ugein. The king dispatched Killich of India, and Kisvini to expel them. Upon the approach of this army the two Husseins raised the siege, and retreating precipitately to the Nirbudda, crossed that river and fled again towards Guzerat.

Akbar invests Rintimpore.

In the month of Rigib, in the year 976, the king marched from Agra with an intention to reduce Rintimpore, where the Indian prince Surjan, who had bought that strong fort from Hujaz, one of the dependants of the late emperor Selim, prepared to defend himself to the last extremity. On the 22d of Ramzan 976, the king invested the place, and having properly reconnoitred it, ordered a great battery to be constructed on an adjoining hill, called Rin: he with great difficulty dragged up his heavy artillery to this eminence; two of the pieces being capable to receive a stone ball of six or seven maunds, or one of iron of thirty maunds*. In

* The size of these guns might be reckoned incredible, did there not remain to this day in India pieces of as extraordinary a bore: particularly one at Arcot, and another at Dacca.

In a few days a part of the wall and a great number of the houses were laid in ruins, and at the end of the month the garrison, driven to difficulties, solicited to capitulate. The conditions proposed by them were, to have the liberty of retiring unmolested, leaving all their wealth and effects to the king. These terms were accordingly accepted, and the king took possession of Rintimpore. A.D. 1569. Hig. 977.

Akbar, after this conquest, made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Chaja Moin at Ajmere, and from thence returned to Agra. From that city he went to visit the learned and venerable Selim in the village of Sikri: he questioned him according to the ceremonies, and was told, it is said, that he would soon have issue that would live and prosper; all the children who were born to him before that time, dying in their infancy. Soon after, the favourite Sultana became pregnant, and upon the 17th of the first Ribbi, in the year 977, she was brought to bed of a son, who was named Selim. Upon this occasion the king published an act of grace to all prisoners, and ordered a day of thanksgiving to the Almighty: soon after he performed a vow of pilgrimage on foot, to the shrine of Chaja Moin at Ajmere, with his whole army in the procession, then returning by the way of Delhi, the king near that city took the diversion of the chace. Returns to Agra. A son born to the king.

The Indian prince Ram Chund, who had possession of the strong fort of Callinger, which he had taken from the dependants of the emperor Selim, hearing about this time that the king meditated an expedition against him, fearing the fate of Rintimpore and Chitor, made terms for the delivery of the place, which was accordingly put into the hands of the king. Upon the third of Mohirrim 978, the king had another son born to him in the house of the venerable Callinger surrenders.

A.D. 1570. Hig. 978.

nerable Selim *, whom he called Murâd. He upon this account made another pilgrimage to Ajmere, and ordered the town to be fortified with a stone wall. The emperor from thence proceeded to Nagore, where Chundersein, the son of Maldeo, and the Indian prince of Bicanere, came out to meet him with valuable presents. The latter presented the king with his beautiful daughter. Akbar from Nagore marched to the town of Ajodin, and visiting the tomb of the celebrated poet and philosopher Ferid Shukurgunge, proceeded to Debalpoor, where Koka, who was in possession of that place, presented him with a large sum of money. The king from thence passed to Lahore, where Hussein, a Turkuman chief, governor of that city and province, came also out to meet him in the same manner with great presents.

Akbar returns to Agra.

On the first of Siffer 979 the emperor left Lahore, and returned by the way of Firosa to Ajmere, and from thence proceeded to Agra. Secunder, the famous rebel, and only one remaining of the Usbeck chiefs who had revolted, having long lurked about the woods of Bengal, and committed ravages on the inhabitants, was about this time seized by Monim, governor of Jionpoor, and sent to the king, who according to his usual clemency pardoned him.

The king invades the kingdom of Guzerat,

The king esteeming the village of Sikri fortunate to him, as two sons were born to him there, by the means of the prayers of the saints with whom he left his favourite mistresses, he ordered the foundation of a city to be laid there, which, after the conquest of Guzerat, he called the City of Victory. In the year 980, the kingdom

* It seems the king had left some of his beautiful mistresses in the house of Sheck Selim, to receive the benefit of the prayers of that holy man.

dom of Guzerat being torn to pieces by intestine divisions, Akbar seized upon that opportunity to declare war against it. He therefore marched to Ajmere under pretence of a pilgrimage, and from that place detached his general Callan before him towards Guzerat. The king followed at some distance with the main body of the army. Akbar in his way appointed the Indian prince Singh, to the government of Joelpoor, the residence of Raja Maldeo, whom, on account of some misdemeanour, he deposed. When the emperor arrived at Nagore, he received advices of the birth of another son, on the second of Jemmad, in the house of the holy and venerable Danial, whom he with great propriety called Danial, as it was to the saint's prayers no doubt he owed this piece of good fortune.* A.D. 1572. Hig. 980.

The king appearing with his army on the confines of Guzerat, Shere, an omrah of distinction who defended the frontiers, abandoned his post, and fled with precipitation. The king took immediate possession of the city of Pattan, and gave the government of it to Ahmed, one of the race called Seids, or descendants of the prophet. He from that place moved his standard of victory towards Ahmed-abad; but before he had marched two stages, Muziffer the king of Guzerat came to meet him, and without a blow, surrendered his kingdom into his royal and victorious hands; so that the king entered Ahmed-abad, the capital of Guzerat, in as peaceable a manner as if he had been entering Agra. To account Which submits without a blow.

* One might be tempted to think, that as Akbar left his wives in charge of the saints of Sikri, he owed some of his sons to more than the prayers of those holy persons: it being the opinion of the Mahommedan doctors, as well as of some grave divines among ourselves, that prayer is more effectual when the means are used.

A.D. 1572. Hig. 980. count for this it may not be improper to say something concerning the state of Guzerat at that period.

The state of Guzerat. Mamood descended of a Pattan family, the late king of Guzerat, having some time before this event, died, his nobles, particularly Actemad, and Amad, who possessed all the power of the government during the minority of the prince Ahmed, the son and successor of Mamood, finding him begin to think for himself, were unwilling to part with their power, and found means privately to make away with him: but to keep up the appearance of loyalty, they raised a child of doubtful birth to the throne, on whom they imposed the name of the king Muziffer, and divided the kingdom among themselves in the following manner: Amed-abad, Cambait, and some other provinces, were possessed by Actemad; Anduka, Doluc, and some other countries, by Juil the grandson of Mubarick; Surat, Biroge, Birod, and Japanier, by the noble Zingis, son of the co-regent Amad; while other nobles who had influence in the state, had the rest of the kingdom partitioned among them. The nominal king Muziffer was in the mean time cooped up by Actemad in Ahmed-abad; during this oligarchy, the government became very oppressive, by continual wars and civil dissensions. This made the unhappy people of Guzerat turn their eyes towards Akbar, to relieve them from their petty tyrants, who, like vultures, gnawed the bowels of their country. The easy conquest of Guzerat was therefore no ways surprizing, as the nominal king, tired of his situation, hoped more from the favour of a foreign prince, than from his own factions and independant nobles.

But to return from this digression. The second day after the king's entrance into Ahmed-abad, he was waited upon by the principal nobles of Guzerat, who hastened to make their submission. But Ali and Hujaz, two Abyssinian nobles, were ordered into confinement, as they gave some evident signs of discontent. Hussein was still at the head of an army in Biroge, and his brother Hussein Mirza at the head of another considerable force near Surat. The king therefore resolved to reduce them: Aichtiar, one of the omrahs of Guzerat, having broke his parole of honour and fled at this time, all the other nobles were ordered into close confinement. When the king arrived at the port of Cambait, he appointed Azim Mirza governor of Ahmed-abad.

A.D. 1572. Hig. 980.

Akbar's transactions in Guzerat.

Hussein, who we have already observed was in Biroge, hearing of Akbar's approach, and suspecting the fidelity of Rustum, a native of Rumi*, one of his principal officers, assassinated him, and discovered an inclination to march into Punjab to raise disturbances in that quarter. The king receiving intelligence of this design about midnight, left his camp in charge of Jehan and Callich Chan, and with a chosen detachment marched himself that night with all expedition to cut off Hussein's retreat: the next day he reached the river Mhenderi, which runs by the town of Sirtal, with only forty horse, the rest having lagged behind with fatigue. The enemy being encamped on the opposite bank of the river, and in sight, the king thought it prudent to proceed no further, till the rest of his detachment should arrive. Had Hussein therefore known any thing of the art of war, he might have easily taken Akbar prisoner. But that unenterprizing officer made no attempt of that kind, till the king was joined by a fresh

Exploits of Akbar against Hussein.

* Natolia.

A.D. 1572. Hig. 980.

a fresh detachment, which had been ordered some days before to Surat, and happened to be then encamped at a little distance.

He attacks and defeats 1000 of the enemy with 70 horse.

This small party consisted only of seventy horse, at the head of which there happened to be five principal nobles, Mamood Baherra, the Indian princes Dass, Man Singh, and Kulli, and Raja Surjun of Rintimpore. With these the king, without waiting for more troops, took the desperate resolution to attack the enemy, one thousand of whom, commanded by Hussein, waited to receive him, while the main body of the army pursued their march. It happened very fortunately for Akbar that the enemy, instead of permitting him to come into the plain, opposed him between two hedges, where not above six horsemen could fight abreast. The king, in this narrow pass, put himself upon the footing of a private trooper, and performed extraordinary feats of personal valour: which, however, avail little to wipe away the folly of this piece of his conduct. At last the courage which Akbar's behaviour naturally raised in his followers, made them as desperate as himself; so that after a long engagement with the enemy, sword in hand, they beat them back, and at last totally defeated them, with the loss only of one officer, and a few private men.

Akbar besieges Surat.

Hussein fled to his army, but such was their consternation and opinion of Akbar's prowess, that the greatest part of his forces deserted him, which was all the advantage that could be gained by such a victory. The king, contenting himself with what he had done, desisted from the pursuit, and waiting till his army came up, marched and invested Surat. In the mean time the omrahs of Guzerat collected themselves in the environs of Pattan, and held a council how to proceed. They agreed that Hussein should prosecute his scheme of raising disturbances in Punjab, and that

that Hussein Mirza, Shaw Mirza, and Shere, should invest Pattan. They expected by these means to draw the king from the siege of Surat. A.D. 1573. Hig. 981.

Hussein having arrived at Nagore, Rai Singh, governor of Jodpoor, who had pursued him, came up with him one day towards the evening, at a place where there was no water to be found, but what Hussein possessed. This made the troops of Rai Singh, who were in great distress for water, call out to attack the enemy. This favourable disposition, and the necessity of the attempt, made the Indian, though much inferior to the enemy, join battle. Hussein's horse being killed, and he himself dismounted in the first charge, his army imagining that he was actually slain, gave ground. The enemy took such advantage of their confusion, that the whole efforts of Hussein were not capable to recover the disorder, and he was totally routed: he fled with great precipitation towards Delhi, and from thence to Simbol. In the mean time Hussein Mirza and the other nobles carried on the siege of Pattan, which was defended by Ahmed the Mogul. Koka coming to his relief with the army from Ahmed-abad, the Pattan nobles raised the siege, went out to meet him, and gave him battle. Koka had at first the disadvantage, both his wings being thrown into disorder; but his troops continuing steady in the centre, he at last gained ground, and improving the advantage, put them to flight towards the Decan. Hussein defeated by Rai Singh at Nagore.

The king in the mean time made a breach in the walls of Surat, and had raised several mounts, from which he battered the city and commanded the streets. When he was preparing for a general assault, the garrison desired to capitulate. Their terms were agreed to, the city delivered up, and the king returned to Ahmed-abad; he distributed all the governments of Guzerat among Akbar takes Surat.

A.D. 1573. Hig. 981. among the friends of Koka, his foster-brother, and on the 2d of Ziffer, in the year 981, returned by the way of Ajmere to Agra.

Hussein flies to Punjab. The fugitive Hussein, arriving at Simbol, as we have already mentioned, heard that the chief men in Punjab under Kulli, were besieging the castle of Nagracot; he therefore marched into Punjab, which he expected to find unguarded, and, after plundering it, he had resolved to join his friends in Guzerat, by the way of the Indus. Kulli was therefore under the necessity of raising the siege, and marching after Hussein through all Punjab, without being able to come up with him, till he reached the environs of the city of Tatta upon the Indus. There Kulli attacked Hussein's camp as he was one day out a hunting, at some distance from his line of march. Mirza, Hussein's brother, who commanded in his absence, was obliged therefore to form the line, sending in the mean time an express to his brother concerning his situation. But before the elder Hussein arrived, his brother was defeated and taken prisoner, having lost some thousands of his men in the engagement. Hussein, returning from hunting, met his routed army, and rallying a part of them, renewed the combat: he was however repulsed with great loss, and obliged to fly towards Moultan.

Defeated, taken, and put to death in Moultan. In Moultan the unfortunate Hussein was again attacked by the Billochees, wounded, taken prisoner, and delivered up to Muchsuse, governor of Moultan, who beheaded him. Muchsuse, in conjunction with Kulli, carried his head and all his effects to Agra, to present them to the king. Akbar ordered the head to be set up above one of the gates of Agra, and his brother Hussein Mirza to be confined in the fort of Gualier, where he soon after died. In the first Ribbi of the same year, advices arrived from Koka, that Aichtiar, governor

governor general of Guzerat, and Hussein Mirza, were joined with considerable armies, had possessed themselves of several districts in Guzerat, and had invested the Mogul governor himself in Ahmed-abad.

A. D. 1573. Hig. 981.

The king sets out for Guzerat, with great expedition.

As it was now the rainy season, and to march a great army impracticable, with that expedition which the urgency of the situation of affairs required, the king selected two thousand horse, and sent them off before him; then, with three hundred principal nobles and officers, mounted upon camels, he proceeded at the rate of four stages every day *, and came up with the detachment of horse at the city of Pattan in Berar, where he was joined by a thousand more. His whole force then consisted of three thousand horse, and three hundred camels. With this small army he continued his march with the same expedition to the besieged capital of Guzerat, and upon his arrival within four miles of the city, ordered the Imperial drums to beat his own march, which was the first news the enemy had of his approach. This struck the insurgents with such a panic, that it was with difficulty their officers could keep them from immediate flight. They however formed at length the line, while Hussein Mirza, with a few horse, went to the banks of the river to reconnoitre.

Arrives unexpectedly before the enemy.

Hussein saw at some distance Kulli, who had been sent on the same business by the king. He asked him across the river, what army that was? Kulli replied, that it was the army of the king of kings. The other said, " that is impossible, for it is yet but fourteen days since one of my spies saw the king at Agra, and I perceive none of the elephants that always attend the emperor." Kulli then told him, " It is but nine days since the

* Each stage is about twenty English miles.

A.D. 1573. Hig. 981. the king put his foot in the stirrup, and it is well known, elephants cannot march at that rate; but all the cavalry are come up."

Comes to battle with them, Hussein returned immediately to his camp, and sent Achtiar, with five thousand horse, to watch the gates of Ahmed-abad. He himself marched with seven thousand horse against the king. Akbar had by this time reached the banks of the river, and discovering the enemy, he drew up to receive them, expecting every moment to be joined by the troops in the city: but they were blocked up by the enemy. He then saw that his whole dependance must rest on his own troops; to render them more desperate, by cutting off all hopes of retreat, he crossed the river, and drew up before the enemy on the plain. Hussein placing himself in the centre with his Moguls, Shaw Mirza on his right with the Afghans and Rajaputs, and Shere on his left with the Abassinians and the horse of Guzerat, advanced to the charge.

and totally defeats the enemy. The king having also drawn up his small army in three divisions, commanded by their several officers, he posted himself with his body guard, consisting of a hundred horse, in the rear of the centre. The battle now being joined with great fury on both sides, the king with his guard wheeled round his right flank, and fell furiously on the left flank of the enemy. His troops observing their king thus exposing himself in the midst of danger, made an uncommon effort of valour, and charged the enemy so warmly, that they repulsed them with great loss. Hussein, who was wounded in the action, attempting to leap over a hedge with his horse, fell from his saddle, and was taken prisoner. Several persons contending about the honour of taking Hussein, the king asked him who was the man who took him?

him? Hussein replied, "Nobody: the curse of ingratitude overtook me."

A.D. 1573. Hig. 981.

The king in imminent danger.

When the king's forces were warm in the pursuit, he himself remained on a rising ground, with about two hundred horse. On a sudden a great body of troops appeared moving towards him. He immediately dispatched a person to know who they were: he brought back intelligence, that they were the forces of Achtiar, who had been left to guard the gates of Ahmed-abad. The troops who were with the king began to be very uneasy at their situation, and gave many intimations of their desire of retreating. But Akbar would by no means desert his post; he ordered them instantly to prepare to charge and break through the enemy; at the same time commanding the drums to beat up the royal march. The enemy hearing the drums, made no doubt but the whole army was behind the hill, and retreated with great precipitation. The king pursued them to some distance, to keep up the panic which had seized them. Whilst these things happened where the king commanded in person, Rai Singh, one of his generals, of the Indian nation, to revenge some former quarrel, basely embrued his hands in the blood of Hussein, who had been left in his possession. Achtiar having also fallen from his horse in his flight, was killed by one of the king's guards, who was pursuing him with great eagerness. Koka, the besieged governor of Guzerat, finding now that the blockade was withdrawn from the gates, came out to meet the king. Akbar entered Ahmed-abad the same day, and continued Koka in his government, then by the way of Ajmere, hastened towards Agra, after having performed a service, which, though glorious, reflects more honour upon his intrepidity, than upon his conduct.

A.D. 1574. Hig. 982.

The Suba of Bengal rebels.

In the course of the same year, Daood the son of Soliman governor of Bengal, drew his neck from the yoke of obedience. Monim, commonly called lord of lords, governor of the provinces of Oud and Jionpoor, being nearest to the rebel, was sent against him, and brought him to a treaty after some successful engagements. The king, dissatisfied with this peace, committed the management of the affairs of Bengal to an Indian prince called Jodermul, and sent him with orders to expel Daood entirely out of his government, or to oblige him to pay a certain yearly tribute, superior to the small acknowledgement which he had formerly made. Daood being threatened at the time with a civil war by one Lodi, who discovered an inclination to usurp the kingdom, consented upon Jodermul's appearance to pay the tribute demanded. He then found means to seize upon Lodi, whom he put to death. Daood relieved from that domestic danger, broke the treaty with the king, and advancing against Monim and Jodermul, engaged them at the confluence of the Sool, Gang and Sirve, where, being defeated, he lost his fleet of boats and all his baggage. Monim crossed immediately the river, and laid siege to Patna.

He is overthrown.

The king sets out for Bengal.

The king, informed of these transactions, set out from Agra in the middle of the rains, with as many troops as could be contained in a thousand boats: he halted a few days at Benaris, where he was joined by the forces which marched over-land: he immediately embarked the whole, and fell down to Patna, and on his way he received the news of the reduction of Bicker upon the Indus, by Jesu Chan, who had been sent against that place. Akbar having arrived within a few miles of Patna, heard that Isah Neazi, one of the enemy's principal generals, had marched out of the fort and fought Monim, but that he was

was defeated and lost his life, so that the place was upon the point of being evacuated. The king therefore sent one of his officers, Allum, with three thousand horse, to possess himself of the fort of Hadgepoor, on the opposite bank of the river, and to endeavour to harass the enemy in their retreat, should they be already gone, if not, to stop them. Allum accordingly took that place by assault, and made Fatte, the governor, and the garrison prisoners: Daood intimidated by this, sent a herald to the king to beg terms of accommodation: A.D. 1574. Hig. 982.

The king returned him for answer, that he granted him his life, but that he must trust every thing else to his clemency, after making his submission; but if he should be obstinate enough to hold out some few days merely to give him trouble, he could have no reason to hope for pardon; "and though, said the king, I have a thousand in my army as good men as you, rather than fatigue my troops with a siege, I will put the whole upon the issue of a single combat between you and me, and let him take the fort who shall best deserve it." Daood did not choose to accept the challenge, nor even to put the king to farther trouble, but took boat at the water-gate that night, and fled down the river: soon after all his army evacuated the place. The next morning the king pursued them and took four hundred elephants, and the greatest part of their baggage. He then returned to Patna, conferred the government of that place and its dependencies upon his faithful servant, Monim, who had so much signalized himself in the war, then returned without pursuing his conquest farther to Agra. The king challenges the Suba of Bengal to a single combat.

Koka, the imperial governor of Guzerat, and Jehan, who commanded at Lahore, came to pay their respects to the king, and returned afterwards Transactions at Agra.

A.D. 1575. Hig. 983.

to their respective governments. Akbar at the same time conferred the title of the noble Muziffer upon Muziffer Ali, and appointed him to command a force against the fort of Rhotas in Behar: he himself made a tour to the shrine of the saints at Ajmere, where having bestowed great charities, he returned to Agra.

The war in Bengal, and the reduction of that province.

In the mean time Monim, who had been left in the government of Patna, had orders to carry the war further into Bengal against Daood. That general having forced the pass of Killagurry, Daood fled into Orissa, whither he was pursued by Jodermul, with part of the king's army. Juneid the son of Daood defeated Jodermul in two battles, which obliged Monim to march to his aid: both the Mogul generals having joined their forces, engaged Daood. Kudgera, an Afghan chief of great bravery, who commanded Daood's vanguard, attacked the vanguard of Monim commanded by Allum, and defeated and killed that omrah. The Afghan pursued the run-aways through the centre of their army, which were by that time drawn up in order of battle. Monim observing the disorder, hastened in person with a small body to restore the ranks, Kudgera attacked him in person, and wounded him in several places, so that he was obliged to quit the field, and he was soon followed by his army. The valiant Kudgera being killed by an arrow, Monim again rallied his troops, and being a little recovered, led them back to the charge: he found Daood's army intent upon the plunder, and soon put them to flight, taking all their elephants. Jodermul being detached to pursue the enemy, came up with Daood on the banks of the Chin, which he could not cross. The rebel finding no means for escaping, faced about to defend himself. Jodermul did not choose to provoke him too far, and, immediately sent intelligence

telligence of what had passed to Monim. That omrah, notwithstanding his wounds, which were very bad, hasted to that place: Daood surrendered himself upon terms, and was permitted to retain Orissa, after which Monim returned to his government. The city of Gore, which had been the capital of Bengal till the time of the emperor Shere, who, on account of the badness of the air, had made Chawasspoor Tanda, the metropolis, was now greatly decayed. Monim, admiring the antiquity and grandeur of that place, gave orders to repair the palaces, and made it his residence: but he soon fell a victim to the unhealthy air of Gore, and died. He was succeeded in his government by Hussein Kulli, a Murkuman noble in the imperial service, to whom the king gave the title of lord of the world *. A.D. 1575. Hig. 983.

The prince Soliman of Buduchshan, being expelled by his own grandson Mirza Shaw, was about this time obliged to seek protection at the court of Agra. He soon after took leave of the king, to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, after which he returned to Buduchshan, and found means to reinstate himself in his dominions. Some omrahs at court, who envied the greatness of Koka, viceroy of Guzerat, accused him to the king of treasonable intentions: they so far prevailed upon him, that he recalled him from his government and confined him. Koka's readiness to comply with the imperial order, convinced Akbar that he was no ways guilty; but that the whole proceeded from the malice of his enemies: however, the noble Ahmed of Neshapur, who had been advanced to the government of Guzerat, had sufficient interest at court to retain his office after his predecessor was acquitted. Transactions at court.

 Before

* Chan Jehan.

A.D. 1575. Hig. 983. Rebellion in Bengal.

Before Hussein had taken possession of his government of Bengal and Behar, the zemindars of those provinces had risen in favour of Daood, and invested Chawasspoor the capital, which they took. Daood found himself soon at the head of fifty thousand horse, and in possession of the greatest part of those countries. Kulli having assembled all the imperial omrahs in that quarter, advanced against Daood, and that chief retreated beyond the passes, which Hussein forced, and killed above a thousand of the enemy, who attempted to stop his march. The enemy, on account of the narrowness of the defile, had not time to escape. Hussein immediately marched towards Daood's camp, and on the 15th of Shawal 983, drew up his army in order of battle near to the enemy, who stood ready to receive him. Callapar, an omrah famous in the army of Daood for personal strength and valour, made a resolute charge upon the left of the imperial line, and threw it into disorder; while Muziffer, who commanded the right of the Mogul army, had the same advantage over the enemy on their left; in this situation they fought in a circle, when Hussein made a home charge upon the centre of the enemy, which was sustained with great bravery. At length, however, the gale of victory blew on the imperial standards, and the enemy were dispersed like leaves before the autumnal wind. Daood being taken prisoner, was, according to the barbarous custom of war, when the king was not present, put to death by the conqueror, in cold blood, upon the field: his son Juneid, a youth of great bravery, died in a few days of his wounds. Hussein took immediate possession of all Bengal, and sent all the elephants and other spoils to the king.

Transactions before Rhotas.

Muziffer, in the year 984, marched against Rhotas, and sent one Masoom to expel Hussein, an

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an Afghan, who was hovering about with a flying party in that quarter. Masoom having engaged him, defeated him and took possession of his pergunnahs; but Callapar, in the mean time, with eight thousand horse, surrounded him, and thought to have obliged him to surrender. Masoom breaking down the wall of the town in which he was shut up, rushed out unexpectedly upon the enemy. In the action which ensued, Masoom's horse was killed by a stroke of the trunk of an elephant. Callapar immediately rode up, and he himself was in the most imminent danger of being crushed to death, had he not wounded the elephant with an arrow in the eye, which rendered the animal so unruly, that he would obey no command; he therefore rushed back through the Afghan troops, carrying off Callapar, which made his army believe that he fled, and they quickly followed him. Callapar was soon overtaken and slain. Masoom, after this victory, returned and joined Muziffer, who left the omrah Cumbo to blockade the fort of Rhotas, and marched against an Indian prince, called Chander Sein, from whom he took the fort of Savana. From thence he directed his march against another Hindoo prince, from whom he took the fort of Keregur, situated in the woods between Behar and Bengal. The Afghans in the fort of Rhotas being destitute of provisions, were prevailed upon by promises and a favourable capitulation to give up the place: Cumbo left Rhotas under the command of his brother, and went himself to court. A.D. 1576. Hig. 984.

The king this year made a progress towards Ajmere, and sent Cumbo, mentioned above, against Comilmere, a strong fortress in the possession of the Rana; he took the place, and in the mean time the king made a tour towards the borders of the Decan: Murtaza, prince of Ahmed- The king makes a progress through his dominions.

 nagur,

A.D. 1579. Hig. 987. nagur, was at that time become melancholy mad, and was confined to his apartments: Akbar thought this a proper opportunity to seize upon that country; but he was diverted from his purpose by some domestic affairs which occurred at that time, and he returned towards Agra by the way of Ajmere, where he appointed Muzifter to the high office of the vizarit. From Ajmere the emperor marched to Delhi, and from thence he took the route of Cabul. When he was upon his way, a comet of an extraordinary magnitude appeared in the west. The king having reached Adjodin, visited the tomb of the famous poet and philosopher Ferid, and quitting his resolution of going to Cabul, returned to Agra.

Disturbances in Bengal

The great mosque in the city of Victory, lately built by Akbar, was finished in the year 986. The prince of Chandez in the Decan, in the same year, imprisoned Muziffer Hussein by the king's commands, and sent him to Agra. In the course of the same year Hussein, governor of Bengal, died. In 987 a great fire happened in the city of Victory, in the wardrobe, which consumed effects to a prodigious amount. After the death of Hussein, the Afghans began to recover in Bengal their former strength, and to raise disturbances. To suppress their insurrections the king sent his foster-brother Koka, late governor of Guzerat, with a considerable army to that kingdom.

The king's brother besieges Lahore.

The prince Hakim, the king's brother, took the opportunity of these troubles to make an attempt upon Lahore. He sent Shadiman, his foster-brother, with a thousand horse, by way of advanced guard before him. This officer crossing the Nilab, one of the branches of the Indus, was attacked by Man Singh, an omrah of Punjab, and routed. When Hakim had reached

Rhotas,

Rhotas, a fortress built by the emperor Shere, in Punjab, Man Singh retreated to Lahore, whither he was pursued by the prince. He arrived before that city upon the 11th of Mohirrim, in the year 989, and invested it. The place was gallantly defended by Seid Chan, and other nobles, till the king marched from Agra to their relief. Upon the approach of the royal standard, Hakim retreated to Cabul; the king pursuing him to Sirhind. Intelligence was brought to him at that place, that Munsoor Shirazi, one of his omrahs, had been carrying on a correspondence with the enemy, for which he ordered him to be impaled.

A.D. 1581. Hig. 989.

Akbar forces him to raise the siege.

The king having crossed the Nilab, continued his march towards Cabul, and detached his son, Murad in front, with the van guard: his son Selim he left at Jellalabad. When Murad had reached Shuttergurdan, within thirty miles of Cabul, Feredoon, a general of Hakim, attacked him in a pass, and having repulsed the prince, seized upon all his baggage. Hakim, upon the 2d of Siffer 989, drew up his army before the king in order of battle. The elephants which were with the prince Murad, being ordered to advance, fired the small field pieces that were mounted upon them, and by mere accident three of the chiefs who stood by Hakim were killed: that pusillanimous prince immediately left the field, and was pursued with great slaughter. The king, without farther opposition, entered Cabul upon the 7th of Siffer, and Hakim fled to Ghorebund: he from thence sent an embassy to the king, begging forgiveness, which was granted him. The king having resigned his conquest of Cabul to Hakim, on the 14th of Siffer, returned towards Agra. He on his way ordered a fort to be built upon the Nilab, which he called Attock, which means in the Indian language Forbidden;

Pursues him to Cabul.

Totally overthrows him.

A.D. 1581. Hig. 989.

bidden; for by the superstition of the Hindoos, it was held unlawful to cross that river. The king having arrived at Lahore upon the 19th of Ramzan, gave the government of that province to the Indian chief, Bagaundass, and in a few days set out for Agra.

The king reinforces his army in Bengal.

The troubles in Bengal still continuing, the king sent the omrah Cumbo, with a considerable force, to reinforce his army in those parts. In the year 991 he made a progress to Priag, where he ordered the fort of Allahabad to be built at the confluence of the Jumma and Ganges. Muziffer, king of Guzerat, who had been kept a prisoner at large since the reduction of his kingdom, began now to exhibit great loyalty and affection for the king. Akbar, upon this account, rewarded him with a large estate, and he became a great favourite at court. But indulgences of this sort could not gratify the ambition of the conquered king; he made his escape to Guzerat, while Akbar was at Allahabad, and by the assistance of his former adherent, Shere, stirred up a rebellion in that kingdom. The king, upon the first intelligence of this insurrection, sent the noble Actemad in quality of governor to Guzerat, and recalled Ahmed, who was suspected of favouring Muziffer. After the arrival of the new governor, Ahmed came out of Ahmed-abad, and halted some days at Pattan to prepare for his journey, during which time a great part of his army deserted to Muziffer. This enabled that prince to march towards Ahmed-abad, the capital.

Rebellion in Guzerat.

Actemad, the governor, left an officer and part of his troops to defend the city, and with the rest marched out to Pattan, where Ahmed, the former governor, was encamped. Muziffer, in the mean time, with very little opposition, possessed himself of the capital. The new governor then

then prevailed upon Ahmed to accompany him, and marched back to retake the place. Muziffer, who came out to battle, defeated the two governors, and drove them back to Pattan. Aeternad sent an express from Pattan to acquaint the king of his misfortune. A.D. 1582. Hig. 990.

Akbar, being informed of the untoward situation of affairs in Guzerat, dispatched Rustum, commonly called Mirza Chan, the son of the great minister Byram, together with the omrahs of Ajmere, to restore the tranquillity of that province; but before Mirza had reached Guzerat, king Muziffer had reduced the fort of Biruderra, which was defended by Cuttub, who held Beroche in jagier from Akbar, and had there taken fourteen lacks of rupees belonging to the king, and ten crores of rupees of the property of the governor, who lost his life on the occasion. This immense acquisition of treasure enabled him to recruit a great army at Ahmed-abad, whither Mirza marched to attack him with eight thousand horse. Mirza having arrived at the village of Sirgunge, within six miles of the city, Muziffer, on the 15th of Mohirrim 992, marched out to meet him with thirty thousand horse, and drew up in his presence. The imperial general, no ways intimidated by the enemy's numbers, encouraged his men, charged the enemy vigourously sword in hand, defeated them with great slaughter, and pursued them quite through the city. Being soon after joined by the Mogul omrahs of Malava with a considerable force, he marched after Muziffer towards Combait, and drove him among the mountains of Nadout. Muziffer faced about to oppose the Moguls in a narrow defile, but he was driven from his post by the artillery of Mirza, and fled towards Jionagur, taking refuge with Jami, an Indian prince in those parts.

Mirza, the son of the famous Byram, sent into Guzerat.

Mirza

A. D. 1584. Hig. 992.

Guzerat reduced.

Mirza thinking it unnecessary to pursue Muziffer further, returned to Ahmed-abad, and sent Callehi to besiege the fort of Beroche, which he took from Nasir the brother-in-law of Muziffer. Nazir held out the place seven months, and at last made his escape to the Decan. Muziffer, soon after, by the aid of Jami, and the suba of Jionagur, advanced to a place called Mabi within one hundred and twenty miles of Ahmed-abad. Mirza marching out to oppose him, he was struck with a sudden panic, and made a precipitate retreat: but strengthened by new alliances, he made a third attempt to recover his dominions, and engaging the Mogul army at Siranti, he was defeated, and obliged to take refuge with Singh, the Indian prince of Jalla.

Transactions at court.

Mirza, five months after this last victory over Muziffer, was recalled to court; but as the fugitive king began to raise his head again in his absence, the king conferred the titles of first of the nobles upon Mirza, and ordered him back to Guzerat. This year Nizam, the son of Hussein, fled from his brother Mortiza, king of the Decan, and came to the court of Agra, where he was graciously received; and not long after Alla Shirazi, the most eminent man of that age for learning, came also from the Decan, and had an honourable office near the king's person conferred upon him.

The king's designs upon the Decan.

In the ensuing year Murtiza, and Choclawind, omrahs of the Decan, being defeated by one Sullabit in a civil broil, took refuge at Agra; and as the king had a long time entertained thoughts of conquering the Decan, he sent them to Koka who then possessed the government of Malava. He ordered that omrah to raise all the forces of Malava, and of the adjacent territories, and carry war into the Decan: and

and having conferred the title of Azid ul Dowla upon Alla Shirazi, sent him to assist Koka in that expedition, as he was thoroughly acquainted with the different interests and policy of that country.

A.D. 1585
Hig. 993.

Koka advances with an army towards the Decan.

Koka having, according to orders, recruited a great army, marched to the borders of his government, and found that Ali, the prince of Chandez, was inclinable to join the king of the Decan. He immediately dispatched Alla to endeavour to bring him over to the Mogul interest; but that omrah returned without accomplishing any thing. The omrahs, Tucki and Bezad, in conjunction with the prince of Chandez, by the orders of the king of the Decan, marched against Koka, who was encamped in the province of Hindia. Koka, however, did not think it proper to engage them in that place; but giving them the slip, he entered the Decan by another route, and advancing to Elichpoor, plundered that city for the space of three days. The generals of the Decan, and their ally the prince of Chandez, in the mean time returned and threw themselves into the suburbs of Elichpoor, which obliged Koka, rather than risk a battle, to evacuate the Decan.

Disturbances in Guzerat quelled.

While these things were transacted in the Decan, orders were sent to Mirza, the son of Byram, commonly called the first of the nobles, governor of Guzerat, to come to court. He forthwith obeyed, and the fugitive king Muziffer, taking advantage of his absence, advanced towards Darul, the deputy governor of the country, but he was again defeated.

Transactions at court.

The prince Sharoch, grand-son of Soliman, sovereign of Buduchshan, being expelled from his dominions by Abdulla, the Usbeck, came this year to court, and ranked himself among the king's omrahs: at the marriage of the daugh-

ter

A. D. 1585. Hig. 993.

ter of the Indian prince Baguandass to Selim, the emperor's eldest son, in the year 994, the king kept a great festival on the Norose*, and a few months after Hakim, the king's brother, who reigned in Cabul, died. Akbar having appointed Mirza a second time governor of Guzerat, and Alla, high-priest of that country, set out for Punjab. On his way he appointed Sadei to the government of Bicker, and Man Singh, the son of Baguandass, was sent to Cabul. That omrah brought the children of Hakim, who were very young, to Lahore, and left his own son invested with the chief authority at Cabul.

The king sends an army to reduce Cashmire.

The king having arrived at the fortress of Attock upon the Nilâb, he detached the prince Sharoch, and other omrahs, with five thousand horse to reduce the kingdom of Cashmire. He at the same time dispatched Zein Koka, with another considerable detachment against the Afghans of Sawad and Bejoar. A few days after he sent a detachment to reduce the Afghans of Roshnai, who were idolaters of the Zendeika sect, and followers of an Indian fanatic, who called himself Pier Roshnai. The imposter had converted to his system of religion great numbers of the inhabitants of those countries, who, after his death, adhered to his son, and taking up arms, raised great disturbances in Punjab and Moultan. The king being fully informed of the strength of the Afghans of Sawad and Bejoar, sent a reinforcement to Zein Koka. But that omrah was notwithstanding defeated, and many persons of distinction, with eight thousand men, were killed in the action.

Man

* The day upon which the sun enters Aries.

Man Singh, who had been detached against the Roshnai-Afghans, met with better success; he defeated them at Kotil with great slaughter. The king returned from Attock to Lahore, ordered Man Singh to proceed to Cabul, and take upon him the government of that kingdom, and at the same time to chastise the Afghans. The daughter of that omrah was also married this year to the prince royal Selim. A.D. 1586. Hig. 994. Man Singh defeats the Roshnai-Afghans.

The army which had been detached to Cashmire, being reduced to great distress by the snow and rain, as also by a scarcity of provisions, were under the necessity of making a peace with the Cashmirians. The conditions were a tribute of saffron to Akbar, and the regulation of the mint, the coin being struck in his name: but the king dissatisfied with this peace, sent Mahommed Casim, with another army to reduce that kingdom entirely to his obedience. This that general easily accomplished, on account of civil dissensions then raging among the chiefs of that country. The prince Soliman, the grandfather of the fugitive Sharoch, came this year from Cabul, and had an interview with the king. The ambassador of the king of Tartary, who came to court while Akbar was at Attock, was much about the same time dispatched with great presents to his master. In the year 996, Jellal an Afghan began to become formidable, having defeated and killed Hamid Bochari, and driven Man Singh from his government of Cabul. The king therefore sent Muttalib with an army against him, who gave him a signal defeat near Kotel, and cut off great numbers of the rebels. The army in Cashmire in distress.

The prince Chusero, the son of the emperor's eldest son Selim, was born this year of the daughter of Bagrandass, and the king made a great festival upon the occasion. Sadoc, governor of Bicker, Chusero born to Sultan Selim.

A. D. 1587. Hig. 995. Bicker, according to the orders he received from court, invested the fort of Sewan upon the Indus, and obliged the prince of Tatta, to acknowledge the king's authority, and to send him great presents and letters of homage. Sadoc was soon after ordered back to Bicker. In the month of the second Ribbi, Zein Koka was appointed to the government of Cabul, and the former governor recalled to Lahore. At the same time Mirza, the son of Byram, was ordered from Guzerat; as also Sadoc from Bicker, for it was a maxim with Akbar to change the governors of the provinces every three years, to prevent their acquiring too much influence in the countries under their command, and to shew the people that the royal authority prevailed through all departments of the empire Singh was immediately appointed to the government of Behar, and the viceroyship of Cashmire was conferred upon the noble Mushiddi, Casim the former governor being called to court; Sadoc was in the mean time sent against the Afghans of Sawad and Bejoar, and Ismaiel, who was in that country, recalled and sent to Guzerat.

The king goes to Cashmire, In the year 997, upon the 23d of the second Jemmad, the king set out on a tour to Cashmire, being captivated with the praises which he had heard of the beauty of that country from every person who had seen it. When he reached Bimber, at the entrance of the mountains, he left his army and family behind, and with a small retinue set out to Serina the capital of that kingdom. The learned Alla Shirazi who accompanied him died there, and the king was greatly afflicted for his death, having a particular affection for that omrah, on account of his genius and literary merit.

and to Cabul. The king having gratified his fancy with a sight of all the beauty of Cashmire, resolved to proceed to

to Cabul. On the way Hakim Gilani, a man famous for learning, and one of the king's companions died, and was buried at Hassen. Akbar having arrived at Attock, detached Cumbo to drive away the Afghans of Eusoph Zei, who infested the roads, and then proceeded, march by march, to Cabul. To that city Hakim and Jehan, who had been sent on an embassy to Abdulla, king of the Usbecks of Maver-ul-Nere, were just returned with an ambassador on the part of that monarch. The king having remained two months at Cabul, viewing the gardens of pleasure, and distributing justice and charity among the inhabitants, conferred the government upon Mahommed Casim, and on the 20th of Mohirrim 998, returned to Lahore. At Lahore he conferred the government of Guzerat upon Koka, and ordered him from Malava to proceed thither, while the former governor of Guzerat, Ahmed, succeeded him in his presidency. A.D 1588. Hig 996.

Koka having arrived at Guzerat, led an army against Jâmi, a zemindar of great power in that province, who, in alliance with Dowlat, the son of Ami, prince of Jionagur, in the Decan, came out to meet him with twenty thousand horse. A sharp engagement ensued: Ruffi, Hussein, and Sherrif, omrahs of distinction in the empire, were killed on the Mogul side, and a great number of men, while the enemy lost the eldest son of Jami, and that prince's vizier, with four thousand rajaputs on the field of battle. Victory declared for the Moguls, and many more rajaputs fell in their flight. Disturbances in Guzerat quelled.

Abdulla the Usbeck, king of the western Tartary, having about this time taken Buduchshan, and infested the borders of Cabul, Akbar resolved to take up his residence for some time in Lahore, fearing an irruption of Usbecks from the north. The king resides at Lahore.

A. D. 1588. Hig. 996.

Jani, governor of Sind, notwithstanding the king's vicinity, and his orders to him to repair to court, continued refractory, and prepared for war. Akbar dispatched Mirza, the son of Byram, with many omrahs of distinction, and a well appointed army against him.

Affairs of Malava.

In the year 999, Ahmed the governor died at Malava, and was succeeded by the king's appointment by the emperor's son Murâd, under the tuition of Ismaiel Kulli. When the prince arrived upon the confines of Gualila, he heard that a zemindar of power in those parts, disturbed the peace of the country. He immediately marched against him: the enemy opposed him with resolution, but at last he obtained the victory, and drove the rebel to the woods, where he died in a few days of his wounds. The zemindar's son submitted himself, and after paying a proper fine, was confirmed in his paternal territories. The prince marched from thence, and soon after arrived at Malava.

The king sends embassies to the four states of the Decan.

The king, in the mean time, sent four ambassadors to the four princes of the Decan. Feizi, the brother of the learned Abul Fazil, to Asere and Burhanpoor; Amin to Ahmednagur; Mashadi to Bejapoor, and Musaood to Bagnagur; principally with a design to be informed of the state of those countries, upon which he had fixed an eye of conquest. Koka, governor of Guzerat, who had orders to seize every opportunity of enlarging his province, hearing that Dowlat, prince of Jionagur, was dead, marched his army to reduce that country, and after a siege of seven months made himself master of the capital and all its dependencies.

Mirza besieges the fort of Suvan.

In the course of the same year, Mirza laid siege to the fort of Suvan, on the banks of the Indus. Jani, with a numerous army, and a great train of artillery in boats, advanced against him, and having

having arrived within fourteen miles of the place, he sent a hundred boats full of armed men, and forty larger ones mounted with swivels, to annoy the besiegers from the river: but Mirza having armed twenty-five boats, sent them against this fleet in the night, and having killed about two hundred of the enemy, put the rest to flight. Jani, after this defeat, with his whole fleet, advanced to the place, and in the month of Mohirrim, in the year 1000, landed on a spot of ground, which was surrounded with a muddy channel, in which part of the river ran when high. Here he maintained his post against all the attempts of Mirza, and keeping his communication open by water, was well supplied, while he took such methods to prevent provisions from coming to the Moguls, that a great dearth soon ensued in their camp. A. D. 1591. Hig. 1000.

Mirza, reduced to this perilous situation, found himself obliged to leave a part of his army before the place, and to march towards Tatta with the rest. Soon after his departure, Jani attacked the detachment which was left to carry on the siege; but they defended themselves till Dowlat, a noble of the imperial family of Lodi, joined them from the main army, which was by that time at the distance of one hundred and sixty miles, with a considerable reinforcement. So expeditious was Lodi upon this occasion, that he marched one hundred and sixty miles in two days. Jani was then obliged to retreat to a strong post, and throw up lines for his further security. Mirza, in the mean time, returned, and shut him up on one side, while Dowlat Lodi, in a manner, blockaded him on the other. He was therefore reduced in turn to the extremity of eating his cavalry and beasts of burthen for want of provisions. This distress obliged Jani to sue for peace, and having given his daughter in The Moguls in distress.

 marriage

A. D. 1591. Hig. 1000.

marriage to Eric, Murza's eldest son, he prepared to set out for court to make his submission to the king in person, as soon as the rains should be over.

Rebellion in Cashmire.

Eusoph Chan, governor general of the kingdom of Cashmire, had, about this time, by the king's orders, left his brother Edgar at Cashmire, and presented himself at court. Edgar, in the mean time, married the daughter of one of the old royal family of Cashmire, and by the advice of the chiefs of that country, exalted the standard of rebellion, and read the Chutba in his own name. To support him in his usurpation, he raised a great army; and Casi, collector general of the imperial revenues in Cashmire, Hussein and Omri, who were inferior collectors of the revenues on the part of the king, levied what troops they could upon this occasion, and gave the rebels battle: but Casi was slain, and the rest of the Mogul officers driven out of Cashmire.

Which is quelled.

The king, receiving advices of this rebellion, nominated Ferid to carry on the war in those parts. That general forthwith marched with a considerable army towards Cashmire. Edgar, as the Mogul advanced, came out to meet him, but upon the night before the expected engagement, Edgar was treacherously attacked by Sharoch and Ibrahim, two of his own chiefs, and, flying naked out of his tent, was murdered, and his head sent to Ferid. The rebel army was dispersed, and Cashmire reduced without further trouble. The king, soon after, made a second tour to that delightful country, where he spent forty days in rural amusements. He conferred the government of Cashmire upon the noble Eusoph, and turning towards Rhotas, he was met in that place in the year 1001, by Jani and Mirza, the son of Byram, from Tatta. Mirza was

was immediately ranked with the sihazaris or omrahs of three thousand, which was at that time a high dignity, and his government upon the Indus reduced to the form of a province of the empire. A.D. 1592. Hig. 1001.

Muziffer of Guzerat kills himself.

Koka was this year obliged to take the field against a powerful chief of Guzerat, who gave protection to the unfortunate king Muziffer. He obliged the chief to deliver Muziffer up; and that unhappy prince, wearied out with adversity, put an end to his own life with a razor, as they were carrying him prisoner to the capital of Guzerat.

Orissa reduced.

Man Singh led, in the course of this year, the troops in Bengal against Cullulu the Afghan, who created disturbances in that quarter, and defeating him, reduced all the provinces of Orissa, and sent one hundred and twenty elephants which he had taken to the king.

Prince Murad appointed to the government of Guzerat.

Koka being called to court to give some account of his administration in Guzerat, did not choose to risque the inquiry, but putting his family and wealth on board some ships, sailed for Mecca. The king having received advices of his departure, ordered his son, the prince Murad, from Malava to that government, and appointed Sadoc absolute manager of public affairs under him. Sharoch the grandson of Soliman, prince of Buduchshan, was in the mean time appointed to the government of Malava, in the prince's place, and he released Cumbo, who had lain six years in prison, and appointed him to a principal department under him. Sometime before this period, the enthusiastic sect of Roshnai-Afghans had again begun to raise disturbances about Kotil, but they were defeated by Jaffer Kisvini, who had been lately honoured with the title of the noble Asaph, and their chief Jelalli, and his brothers taken and sent prisoners to court.

 The

A.D. 1593. Hig. 1002.

The king makes war upon the princes of the Decan.

The ambassadors which the king had dispatched to the Decan, having about this time returned, brought advices that their proposals were rejected with contempt by the princes of that country. The king therefore resolved to reduce them to obedience; and for that purpose ordered his son, the prince Danial, in the year 1002, with a great army towards the Decan: but before Danial had reached Sultanpoor, the king changed his mind and recalled him, giving the command of the same army to Mirza, the son of Byram, known under the honourable title of first of the nobles, and ordered him to continue his march. The prince Rustum, sovereign of Kandahar, of the posterity of Timur, being driven this year to difficulties by his own brothers and the Usbecks, came to court and presented the king with the fort of Kandahar, for which he had the government of Moultan conferred upon him, and was ranked among the nobles of the empire.

The Mogul army enters that country.

The noble Mirza, in the mean time, having arrived at Mindu, Burhan sent Anact Chan with professions of entire submission, but falling sick at the same time, he died in the year 1003. His son Ibrahim, who succeeded him in the kingdom of Berar, was killed soon after in battle against a partizan, who had rebelled against him in his dominions. Munju, his vizier, set up Ahmed, a young child of the family of the Nizam, upon the throne: but the omrahs dissented from this measure, rebelled against him, and besieged Munju in Ahmednagur. The vizier, finding himself driven to distress, sent a person to Ahmed-abad, the capital of Guzerat, with an embassy to the prince Murad, inviting him to come to his assistance, and he would put him in possession of the fort. Murad having at that time received orders from his father to march into the Decan, with the army from Guzerat, gladly

gladly embraced this proposal, and set out with great expedition. When Mirza, the son of Byram, who had been lying all this time idle at Mindu, heard of the prince's march, he began to bestir himself, and with his own army and those of the prince Sharoch, governor of Malava, Cumbo, the Indian prince Jaggernot, the Hindoos, Durga, Ram Chund, and others, marched towards the Decan, and on his way induced Ali, prince of Chandez, to join him with six thousand horse. He soon after joined his force with that of prince Murad on the borders of the Decan, and this numerous army, march by march, continued its route to the capital. A. D. 1594 Hig. 1003.

Munju had by this time quelled the rebellion, and repented of his having called the prince: he therefore laid in a store of provisions in the place, and committed it to the government of Bibi, the daughter of Hussein, the Nizam of the country, with a strong garrison, and retreated himself with the remainder of his army and a large train of artillery, towards the borders of Berar. Prince Murad and Mirza laid siege to Ahmednagur, in the month of the second Ribbi 1004: they employed themselves in carrying on approaches, raising mounts, erecting batteries, and sinking mines; while Bibi defended the place with a manly resolution, and wrote to Adil the prince of Berar for assistance. At the end of three months, the besieged had carried five mines under the wall and bastions: the besiegers destroyed two of the mines by counter-mines, and continued to search for the others. The prince, upon the first of Regib, having prepared for the assault, set fire to the trains, upon which the three charged mines taking effect, blew up fifty yards of the wall: but when the Moguls waited in expectation of blowing up two mines, the besieged recovered from their surprize, and de-

Ahmednagur besieged by the Moguls.

A.D. 1595. Hig. 1004.

fended the breach with great bravery. The valiant female leader appeared veiled, at their head, and gave orders with such prudence and spirit, that the assailants were beat off in their repeated attempts: the heroine stood all night by the workmen, and the breach was filled up before day, with wood, stones, earth, and dead bodies.

The Mogul come to a treaty with the besieged.

In the mean time, it was rumoured abroad that the chief eunuch of Adil, prince of Berar, was upon his march, in conjunction with the forces of Nizam, with an army of seventy thousand horse, to raise the siege: there being at the same time a scarcity of provisions in the Mogul camp, the prince and Mirza thought it adviseable to enter into treaty with the besieged. It was stipulated by Bibi, that the prince should keep possession of Berar, and that Ahmednagur, and its dependencies, should remain with her in the name of Bahader, the grandson of Burhan. These terms being ratified, the prince and Mirza marched towards Berar, and repairing the town of Shapoor, near Battapoor, took up their cantonments in that place. The prince espoused here, with great magnificence, the daughter of Bahader, the son of Ali, prince of Chandez, and divided the province of Berar among his omrahs. Cumbo being about this time disgusted with some indignities offered him by the prince, left Murad with all his forces, and marched without leave to Malava.

The troops of Ahmednagur invade Berar.

Bibi having resigned her command to Bahader, the grandson of Burhan, Abeck, an Abyssinian, and other chiefs, took up the reins of government, which he was too weak to hold with steadiness, and, contrary to the advice of Bibi, marched with fifty thousand horse towards Berar, to expel the prince Murad. Mirza leaving the prince and Sadoc in Shapoor, marched with twenty

twenty thousand horse to oppose the enemy on the banks of a river in that country, called the Gang. Having stopt for some days to inform himself of the situation and strength of the enemy, he forded the river, and drew up on the opposite bank, on the 17th of the second Jemmad 1005. The eunuch who commanded the succours sent by the prince of Berar, taking the chief command, drew up before the Moguls, the troops of Nizam on the right, those of Cuttub on the left, and his own in the centre. He then advanced, carrying in his face the insolence of his own prowess, mixed with a contempt for the enemy. A. D. 1596. Hig. 1005.

The noble Mirza posted himself in the centre to receive him: Ali, prince of Chandez, and the Indian prince Ram Chund, being at the head of a body of volunteers in his front, to begin the attack. The charge was made with such intrepidity on the side of the Moguls, that they broke through the select volunteers of the enemy, and fell upon the eunuch, where he commanded in person. They were, however, repulsed by a heavy discharge of artillery, small arms and rockets, which did great execution, particularly among the rajaputs and the troops of Chandez, who advanced under their sovereign Ali, and the Indian prince. Both those chiefs were killed, with above three thousand of their horse. The centre being broke, the Usbecks and Moguls on the left wing gave way also, and the eunuch remained master of the field on that side; but the noble Mirza, who had shifted his post to the right during the action, had made an impression there, and was pursuing the enemy, without knowing what had happened on the left. Night in the mean time coming on, and the enemy equally ignorant A drawn battle.

A.D. 1596. Hig. 1005. ignorant of what had happened on his left, thought he had gained a complete victory; he however contented himself, as it was now dark, with keeping possession of the field, and permiting his troops to plunder the baggage. To secure their plunder, half of his army deserted to lodge their spoils in places of security, and the valiant eunuch, with the remainder, sat in the dark, without knowing whither to proceed.

Mirza, in the mean time, returning from the pursuit, fell in with the enemy's artillery, within a small distance of their general, and thinking the enemy entirely routed, determined to remain there till morning with the few that continued with him; for by far the greater part of his army thinking themselves defeated, had fled full speed to the capital of Berar. While things were in this perplexing situation, the eunuch's troops began to light up fires and flambeaus where they stood, having heard that the noble Mirza was near. The Mogul general being informed also, by his spies, that the enemy was in his neighbourhood, he ordered some pieces of artillery to be loaded and fired among them, which threw them into great confusion. Joheil immediately ordered all the fires to be extinguished, and shifting his ground, sent scouts all round to collect such of his troops as were dispersed over the plain and in the adjacent villages.

In the mean time, Mirza blew his trumpets and beat to arms, according to his manner, which being heard by such of his troops as were dispersed over the field, they hastened towards him in small detachments. Several of the Moguls meeting with others of the enemy in the dark, they fought, and formed such a scene of horror and confusion, as is not easy to be described; while Allah! Allah! resounded from all sides,

sides, and every eye was fixed upon the east, in expectation of the dawn. When the day appeared, Joheil was seen marching towards the Moguls with twelve thousand horse. Though the army of Mirza did not exceed four thousand, he determined once more to dispute the field, and formed his line to oppose the enemy. The battle now joined with redoubled fury on both sides, but Joheil, after exhibiting the most daring acts of valour, sunk at last under fatigue and wounds, and fell from his horse. A body of his dependants bore him instantly off: his army, according to custom, followed him, and left Mirza master of a bloody field. The Mogul, in no condition to pursue the run-a-ways, returned to Shapoor, to join the prince Murad and the rest of his army. A.D. 1596. Hig. 1005.

The emperor, having about this time received advice of the death of Abdulla, the Usbeck, king of the western Tartary, who had long threatened an invasion from the north, returned in security from Lahore to Agra. Having in that city heard of the noble Mirza's victory, he sent him an honorary dress and a fine horse, as marks of his particular favour. As private animosities had long subsisted between the prince Murad and Mirza, which being much inflamed by the intrigues of Sadoc, now rose to a dangerous height; the king therefore thought it imprudent to leave them longer together: he dispatched Eusoph Mushaddi and Abul Fazil* to the prince, and, in the year 1006, recalled Mirza to the presence. But though the whole misunderstanding The king returns from Lahore.

* The celebrated historian.

A. D. 1596. Hig. 1005.

derstanding had plainly sprung from the prince's froward and jealous disposition, the king's resentment fell upon that great man, and he remained a long time in disgrace.

Prince Murad dies.

Eusoph, and Abul Fazil, in a short time reduced the forts of Narvalla, Kavile, Kerlah, and others, in the province of Berar; but the prince Murad falling sick, died in the month of Shawal 1007, and was first buried in the capital of Berar, but by the king's orders the body was afterwards removed to Agra, and laid by the side of his grandfather Humaioon. The king's grief for the death of his son, instead of extinguishing his desire of conquering the Decan, only inflamed it the more, to divert his mind from sorrow. In the mean time, the omrahs of Nizam having gained some slight advantages, defeated Shere, one of the king's omrahs, who possessed the country of Bere, and besieged him in his fort. Eusoph and Abul Fazil were so much inferior to the enemy in number, that they durst not venture upon an engagement.

Mirza sent against the Decan.

The king, alarmed at this disaster, restored the noble Mirza to favour, and required his daughter, the beautiful Jana, for his son Danial in marriage. He then dispatched him with that prince, and a well-appointed army, to carry on the war in the Decan, and moved the imperial standard that way in the 1008 of the Higera, leaving his dominions in the east under the charge of the prince royal, the illustrious Selim. In the mean time, the prince Danial and Mirza entered the Decan, and as Bahader, the son of Ali, prince of Chander, was not found like his father, firm to his allegiance, and had shut himself up in Asere, they halted upon the banks of the

the Gang, near Pattan, and endeavoured to persuade him over to their interest. In the mean time the king had reached Mindu, and dispatched orders to them to proceed to Ahmednagur, the capital, and invest it; for that he himself would take up Asere in his way. A.D. 1598. Hig. 1007.

This prince and the noble Mirza accordingly marched with about thirty thousand horse towards Ahmednagur. Abin Buchsi, and other omrahs of the Decan, fled from that city, and left the Moguls to invest the place. The king first endeavoured to bring over Bahader by fair means, but he would not listen to terms. Akbar therefore marched to Burhanpoor, and sent his omrahs to besiege Asere, which lay only six miles from that place. After the siege had continued a considerable time, the air in the place, on account of the number of troops which were cooped up in it, became very unhealthy. This occasioned a pestilence which sweeped the Hindoos off in great numbers. Bahader, though he had still troops sufficient for the defence of the place, as well as a large magazine of warlike stores, and provisions in abundance, permitted despair to stain the current of his mind. Invests Ahmednagur.

The siege of Ahmednagur was in the mean time carried on with great vigour by Mirza and the prince. The city was at length carried by a stratagem, executed by Hussein. This we shall have occasion to relate minutely in the history of the Decan. Ahmednagur was taken in the beginning of the year 1009; the strong fortress of Asere, some months after, was surrendered to the king; an immense treasure which had been accumulated there, for many ages, fell into Akbar's hands, with all the wealth of Ahmednagur. Ahmednagur taken.

A.D. 1600. Hig. 1009. nagur. Ibrahim, king of Bijanagur, one of the four principalities of the Decan, having solicited peace, and paid homage, reconciled Akbar, who demanded Adil's daughter in marriage for his son Danial. A Mogul noble, named Hussein, was accordingly dispatched to bring the bride and a fine from Bijanagur. The king reduced Asere, Birhanpoor, Ahmednagur, and Berar, into the form of a province, and conferred the government upon Danial, under the tuition and direction of his father-in-law, Mirza. The king, after these transactions, returned in triumph to the city of Agra, and in the year 1011, annexed his acquisitions in the Decan to his other royal titles in a proclamation.

Death of the historian, Abul Fazil. Akbar having, in the course of the year 1011, recalled the great historian, Abul Fazil, from the Decan, that learned man was unfortunately attacked near Narwar, by a body of banditti of Orcha rajaputs, who cut him off, with a part of his retinue, merely to rob him of his wealth, and not at the instigation of prince Danial, as has been maliciously and falsely reported by some writers. In the 1013 of the Higera, Hussein, who had been dispatched to Bijanagur, returned with the royal bride, and the stipulated tribute. He delivered the young sultana to Danial, upon the banks of the Gang, near Pattan, where the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence. Hussein, the ambassador, after the ceremony was over, proceeded to the king at Agra.

Akbar dies. Upon the first of Zehidge of the year 1013, the prince Danial died of a debauch in the city of

Mahommed Akbar, Emperor of Hindostan;
Died A.D. 1604.

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of Burhanpoor, in the Decan. His death, and the manner of it, so much affected the king, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till, upon the 13th of the second Jemmad, in the year 1014, he left that world, through which he had moved with so much lustre, after having reigned fifty-one years, and some months. Mahommed Akbar was a prince endued with many shining virtues. His generosity was great, and his clemency without bounds; this latter virtue he often carried beyond the line of prudence, and in many instances past the limits of that justice which he owed to the state; but his daring spirit made this noble error seem to proceed from a generous disposition, and not from an effeminate weakness of mind. His character, as a warrior, was rather that of an intrepid partisan, than of a great general; he exposed his person with unpardonable rashness, and often attempted capital points without using that power which at the time he possessed.——But fortune and a daring soul supplied the place of conduct in Akbar; he brought about, at once, by desperate means, what calm caution would take much time to accomplish. This circumstance spread the terror of the name of this son of true glory so wide, that Hindostan, ever subject to the convulsions of rebellion, became settled and calm in his presence. He raised a wall of disciplined valour* against the powers of the north, and by his own activity inspired his omrahs with enterprize.

A.D. 1605. Hig. 1014.

His character.

He

* Soldiers.

He loved glory to excess, and thirsted after a reputation for personal valour: he encouraged learning with the bounty of kings, and delighted in history, which is in truth the school of sovereigns. As his warm and active disposition prompted him to perform actions worthy of the divine pen of the poet, so he was particularly fond of heroic compositions in verse.——In short, the faults of Akbar were virtues carried to extremes; and if he sometimes did things beneath the dignity of a great king, he never did any thing unworthy of a good man. His name lives, and will for ever live, the glory of the house of Timur, and an example of renown to the kings of the world.

State of Asia at the death of Akbar.

Shaw Tamasp, king of Persia, lived down to the twentieth year of Akbar. He reigned in great tranquillity, and with some renown, fifty-three years. His son, Ismaiel the second, succeeded him; but he was taken off in less than two years after his accession, by the procurement of his sister, Peria Concona, who was afraid of his cruelty. Mahommed, the brother of Ismaiel the second, ascended the throne of Persia, and reigned with reputation: he died in the 993 of the Higera, and was succeeded by his son Hamza, who was assassinated, in a few months after his accession, by the procurement of his brother Ismaiel, who ascended the throne of Persia, by the name of Ismaiel the third. Ismaiel did not long enjoy the reward of fratricide, being, in less than eight months, murdered by his barber. His brother, Shaw Abbas the first, surnamed the Great, mounted the throne, and reigned with great reputation forty-three years.

years. The Usbecks became formidable to the Persians during the interrupted reigns between Tamasp and Abbas. The provinces, on the frontiers of India and Persia, remained in the possession of the Mogul imperial family of Hindostan.

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THE DECLINE OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

INTRODUCTION.

MAHOMMED FERISHTA, the author of the preceding abridgement of the history of India, finishes his account of that empire with the death of Akbar. The translator has reason to entertain hopes of being able to procure original and authentic histories of the Mogul dynasty established in Hindostan, from the conquest of that country by the great sultan Baber, to the present times: he, therefore, will not break in upon his design of giving, some time or other, to the public, a complete history of the posterity of Timur in India, by retailing

Proposal for a complete history of the family of Timur.

the very imperfect accounts already published in Europe. But as to translate from the Persian language is a task of difficulty, his engaging further in works of this kind will depend entirely upon the reception the public shall give to his first attempt in that way. If he shall find that he is not capable to acquit himself, in some degree, to the satisfaction of the world, he will, in prudence, lay down his pen, and leave that field to men of greater abilities, who may hereafter turn their thoughts to the subject.

Domestic affairs of India little known.

The transactions of the court of Delhi, since the invasion of the famous Nadir Shaw, king of Persia, which happened about thirty years ago, are very little known in the West. They have not, even in Asia, been hitherto committed to writing; and if the present confusions of the Mogul empire shall long continue, it is probable the memory of them will die with those who were principally concerned in them. This consideration has induced the translator of Ferishta's history to throw together the most material events which have happened in the empire, since the memorable irruption of the Persians in the year 1738. He derives his authority, for some of the facts, from a Persian manuscript, now in his hands, concerning six years of the reign of Mahommed Shaw; and as to the rest, he principally follows a short sketch of the affairs of the empire, given to him in writing by his intimate friend, the Rai Raián, secretary of state to the present Mogul.

Succession from Akbar to Mahommed Shaw.

To continue the line of connection between the preceding history and the reign of Mahommed, who sat upon the throne of Delhi when the invasion of Nadir Shaw happened, it may not be improper just to mention the succession of the kings, from Akbar to that period. It is necessary to observe, that, after consulting the

the most authentic Persian histories, the author of this account finds himself obliged to differ from all the European writers who have treated the subject, with regard to the duration of most of the reigns. A.D. 1605.

Upon the death of Akbar, his son Selim ascended the throne, in Agra, upon Thursday the 20th of the second Jemmâd, in the 1014 year of the Higera. He, upon his accession, assumed the title of JEHANGIRE, or lord of the world, and reigned twenty-two years, nine months, and twenty days, with much more reputation and success than could have been expected of so weak a prince. His death happened upon Sunday the 28th of Siffor, in the 1037 year of the Higera, which corresponds with the 1627 of the Christian æra. 1627.

The prince KURRUM, the third son of Jehangire, mounted the throne at Agra, upon the 8th of the second Jemmâd, in the year 1037, and, under the title of SHAW JEHAN, or king of the world, reigned thirty-two years, three months, and twenty days. He was deposed by his third son, the famous Aurungzebe, who dated the commencement of his reign from the first of Ramzan, in the 1069 of the Higera. Aurungzebe, upon his accession, took the name of Allumgire *. 1648.

ALLUMGIRE having reigned fifty years, two months and twenty-eight days, died, in a very advanced age, at Ahmednagur, in the Decan, upon Friday the 28th of Zicada, in the 1119 of the Higera, or the 1707 of our æra.

 Mahommed

* Though Shaw Jehan was confined during the time his four rebellious sons, Dara Sheko, Suja, Aurungzebe, and Morâd, contended for the crown, yet as Aurungzebe prevailed over his brothers, and dated his reign from the year 1069, we have included the time of the civil wars in the reign of his father.

A.D. 1707. Mahommed Mauzim, Aurungzebe's second son, succeeded his father in the throne, under the title of BAHADAR SHAW. He died, after a short reign of four years and eleven months, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Moaz ul Dien.

1712. Moaz ul Dien, under the title of JEHANDAR SHAW, reigned eighteen months. Some writers do not include him in the succession of kings, as the succeeding emperor, the son of Azim Shaw, the second son of the preceding emperor, Bahadar Shaw, under the name of Firrochsere, dated his reign from the death of his grandfather.

1713. FIRROCHSERE, according to his own computation, reigned six years. He was blinded, and afterwards put to death, by the two Seids, upon the 12th of the second Jemmâd, in the 1130 of the Higera.

1717. RAFFEIH UL DIRJAT, the son of Raffeih ul Shaw, the third son of the emperor Bahadar Shaw, was raised to the throne by the ambitious Seids; and after a nominal reign of three months, was put to death by the same faction by whose interest he had obtained the crown.—His brother, RAFFEIH UL DOWLAT, succeeded him; but he died in a few days.

MAHOM-

MAHOMMED.

MAHOMMED, the son of Jehân, and grandson of the emperor Bahadar Shaw, acceded to the throne of Delhi, in the month of Shawal of the year 1130 of the Higera.—Mahommed, having rid himself of the two Seids, Abdalla and Hassen, who had so long tyrannized in the empire, raising and deposing kings at pleasure, gave himself wholly up to indolence, and the enervating pleasures of the Haram. The distractions, before Mahommed's accession, occasioned principally by the ambition of the Seids, gave the first mortal wound to the Mogul empire, under which it has ever since languished. Most of the omrahs, either envying or dreading the power of the Seids, formed ambitious schemes of independence in their respective provinces, which the apparent debility of the regal authority very much favoured. A. D. 1718. Mahommed accedes to the throne.

An omrah, called Cuttulich Chan, who, as Nizam ul muluck, or regulator of the country, a title given to the governor general of the Decan, commanded, for some years, all the rich provinces of that extensive country. He being sensible of the weakness of Mahommed, maintained a great standing army, under a pretence of keeping the unsubdued Indian princes and Mahrattor* chiefs in awe. But the real design of Designs of the Nizam.

* These are they who are known in Europe under the disfigured name of Morattoes.

of this force was to found an independent kingdom for himself in the Decan, as Hassen Caco Bemeni had done in the reign of Tuglick Shaw*. To facilitate his ambitious views, the Nizam began to extend his power in the Decan, by the reduction of the neighbouring Indian princes, who had not yet submitted to the Mogul yoke. Though the revenues of his government must have been very considerably increased by these conquests, he remitted none to Delhi; and, at the same time, to weaken the empire, he encouraged, or at least permitted the Mahrattors to make hostile incursions into the interior provinces. These irregular marauders ravaged the opulent kingdoms of Malava, Narvar, Biana and Ajmere, in such a manner, that no revenues could be paid by the unfortunate inhabitants.

King's weakness.

The weak Mahommed, instead of checking this insolence with the sword, disgraced the dignity of the house of Timur, by submitting to become, in a manner, tributary to those despicable banditti. He agreed to pay them the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of those provinces which had been subject to their depredations. From this pusillanimous conduct of Mahommed, we may date the irretrievable decline of the Mogul empire. That opinion, which supports governments in every country, was now destroyed in India; and each petty chieftain began to start up into a prince, as he had nothing to fear from a government which had betrayed such evident symptoms of timidity.

Chan

* This Hassen Caco mounted the throne at Kilbirgr in the Decan, which city he called from himself, Hassen-abad, upon the 24th of Ribi ul Achir, in the 748 of the Higera. He assumed the title of sultan Alla of Dien.

Chan Dowran Sumsam ul Dowla was, at this time, captain-general of the empire. As the offices of paymaster-general and commander in chief of the troops are injudiciously joined in one person, in Hindostan, Dowran had such an influence in the state, that he engrossed to himself all the ministerial power. He left, in short, nothing but their names in the government to the king and his vizier, Kummir. Dowran was sly, artful, insinuating; of an active and intriguing disposition; in appearance assuming no authority, when, at the same time, he directed every thing. He executed in public, as by the king's orders, whatever he himself had resolved upon in private. As the indolent Mahommed was even averse to the trouble of thinking, the suggestions of this artful nobleman, who was full of plausibility, and prompt to execute whatever he advised, were always grateful to the royal ear. The captain-general, though personally brave, permitted his master's authority to be daily insulted by despicable enemies. He foresaw that to take the field, without the king, would probably put an end to his influence over him; for he knew that the disposition of Mahommed was fickle and inconstant, and apt to be swayed to any thing by every artful person near him. Dowran's character.

Dowran made many unsuccessful attempts to persuade the emperor to accompany him to the field. The dissolute monarch was not to be removed from the luxurious indolence of the palace. The Mahrattors, in the mean time, continued their inroads. They ravaged the province of Guzerat, and raised the Chout as far as the Indus. They returned back from that river, by the way of Ajmere and Biana, and spread their devastations to the very gates of Agra. The captain-general, though much against King's indolence.

his

his inclination, found himself obliged to march against these plunderers. But, instead of chastising them, he ingloriously promised to pay them the Chout, upon condition they should immediately evacuate the provinces.

Mahrattors defeated.

The barbarians gained courage by this submission, and trusting very little to promises extorted by fear, from Dowran, crossed the Jumma near Calpee, with a design to plunder the province of Oud. Sadit Chan, who then possessed that subaship, opposed them, between the rivers in the district of Korah, and gave them a total defeat. They fled to Feridabad near Delhi, whither they were closely pursued by Sadit, who had on his way joined the imperial army under Dowran.

Attempt upon Delhi.

Before the united armies under Dowran and Sadit came up, the Mahrattors made an attempt to plunder Delhi. They were opposed, without the walls, by two imperial omrahs, Hassen and Amir, the former of whom was killed in the action. The Mahrattors had now possessed themselves of the suburbs, when the vizier, coming up with an army, put them to flight. But notwithstanding these repeated defeats, the Mahrattors found means to retreat, with a great booty, to the Decan, their native country.

The Nizam called to court.

The court of Delhi, finding that the Nizam of the Decan favoured the incursions of the Mahrattors, devised many schemes to inveigle him to court, that they might deprive him either of his life or government. The crafty Nizam, penetrating into their designs, conceived an implacable resentment against Dowran, who he knew was at the bottom of the whole affair. But as the empire, notwithstanding its growing imbecility, was still sufficiently strong to reduce the

2 Nizam,

Nizam, had he broke forth in open rebellion, he thought it most prudent to obey the royal command. He, however, previously strengthened his interest at court, by a coalition with many great omrahs, who were disgusted with the insolence of Dowran. The Nizam, having taken a step so necessary for his own safety, set out for court, leaving his son Ghazi ul Dien in the government of the Decan. He arrived at Agra, with a retinue, or rather an army of 20,000 men; and, as he held the office of Vakeel Muttuluch*, or absolute agent of the provinces, he expected to command Dowran, and to draw all the reins of government into his own hands.

Sadit, governor of Oud, pluming himself upon his success against the Mahrattors, aspired to the ministerial power. The king continued to favour Dowran, and to support him against the Nizam; for, however weak Mahommed was, he could not but see through that ambitious governor's designs, by his behaviour for some years back. But as the Nizam had, upon the spot, a force to protect his person, and a strong party at court; and as his son, a man of great parts, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, the king was assured, that to deprive him of his government, would occasion a revolt, which, in its consequences, might prove fatal to the royal house of Timur. Intrigues at court.

In the mean time Sadit, finding that he could not effect any thing against the united interests of the Nizam and Vizier, who had joined factions, was easily brought over to their party. The terms of this coalition were, that when the Nizam and Vizier should force themselves into the management of the affairs of government, Party against Dowran.

* For the nature of this office see the preface.

A.D. 1594. ment, Sadit should be appointed paymaster-general of the forces, with the title of captain-general of the empire, which Dowran at that time possessed.

The accession of Sadit and his party did not render the faction of the Nizam and Vizier sufficiently strong to turn Dowran from his high employ. He had absolute possession of the royal ear, and the army, who depended upon him for their pay, remained firm to his interest. The faction of the malcontents was reduced to despair; and the Nizam, to gratify his resentment against Dowran, concerted, with Sadit, a plan, which gave the last stroke to the tottering authority of the crown.

Nadir Shaw invited by a faction to India.

The famous Nadir Shaw, king of Persia, was at this juncture in the province of Candahar. The disaffected omrahs resolved to invite him to India. They foresaw that a Persian invasion would occasion confusions and distractions in the empire, which must facilitate their own schemes of independence in their respective governments; it must at any rate ruin Dowran, which was a very capital object to men possessed of such inveterate animosities against that minister. Whether the Nizam did not even extend his views to the empire itself, admits of some doubt. Many sensible men in India think that he did; and affirm, that his opinion was, that Nadir Shaw would depose Mahommed; and, to secure his conquest, extirpate the family of Timur: he argued with himself, that as it was not probable that the Persian would fix his residence in Hindostan, he hoped, for his services, to secure to himself the viceroyship of that empire; and that afterwards time and circumstances would point out the line of his future proceedings.

Full

Full of these ambitious projects, and at the same time to avenge himself of his political enemy, the Nizam, in conjunction with Sadit, wrote to Nadir Shaw. That monarch received their letters at Candahar, and, in an answer to them, pointed out many difficulties which he had to surmount in the proposed invasion. He represented to them, that it would be extremely difficult to penetrate even into Cabul and Peshawir, provinces belonging to the empire to the north-west of the Indus, which provinces Nasir Chan had governed for twenty years, with great reputation, and kept in pay a formidable army of Moguls and Afghans: that should he even force his way through the government of Nasir, there were five great rivers to cross in Punjab, where Zekirria, governor of Lahore, would certainly oppose him; and that even should he get over those obstacles, the imperial army still remained to be defeated. A.D. 1738. His policy.

The Nizam, and his colleague in treason, endeavoured to remove the king's objections, by assuring him, that they would bring over the governors of the frontier provinces to their faction; and that, as they themselves commanded one half of the imperial army, little danger was to be dreaded from the other. The Persian began his march from Candahar, with a great army, about the vernal equinox of the 1149 of the Higera. He took the route of Ghizni, and the governor of that city came out with presents, and submitted himself and the province to the king, agreeing to pay the usual revenues to Persia. Nadir Shaw continued his march from Ghizni to Cabul, which city he immediately invested. Shirza, an omrah of seventy years of age, was, at this time, governor of Cabul. Being summoned, he refused to surrender, Nizam's intrigues at court.

A. D. 1738. der, and made the proper dispositions for an obstinate defence.

Nadir Shaw takes Cabul.

The king of Persia, finding that neither fair promises nor threats could induce Shirza to open the gates of Cabul, assaulted the place for six days together. In this desperate manner, many of the bravest soldiers, who suffer most upon these occasions, fell, without making any impression on the besieged: upon the seventh day, Nadir Shaw found means to bring over to his party Nasir, governor of the province of Cabul, the son of that Nasir, who was, for twenty years, subadar of Peshawir. That traitor, with the provincial army, presented himself at that gate of the city which was opposite to the side of the attack, and sent a letter to the gallant Shirza. He requested immediate admittance to the place, to prevent his being cut off by the enemy; insinuating, that his forces, when joined with the garrison, would be a match for the Persians in the field.

The unfortunate Shirza, not suspecting the treachery of the young omrah, consented to receive within the walls the women and baggage of the provincial army; but insisted that the troops should encamp before the gate, till a council should be held, concerning what was best to be done upon this urgent occasion. The women and baggage were accordingly admitted, with a proper guard, and Shirza, with a few attendants, went out to have an interview with Nasir. No sooner was Shirza out of the city, than the king of Persia began a general assault; while one Rahim, an officer of the traitor Nasir, seized upon Shirza, and confined him.

The two sons of Shirza, ignorant of their father's fate, in the mean time defended the gates with great firmness and resolution; till one of them

them was killed by that part of Nasir's army that had been admitted into the city. The remaining brother, in this desperate situation, knew not which enemy he ought to oppose, while the garrison, struck with terror and confusion, deserted their posts upon the wall. Nadir Shaw took advantage of this panic, forced open the gates, took the place, massacred many of the inhabitants, and inhumanly put to death the gallant Shirza and his son. A.D. 1738.

The king of Persia found in the treasury of Cabul two millions, five hundred thousand of our money in specie, and effects to the value of two millions more; in these were included four thousand complete suits of armour, inlaid with gold; four thousand of polished steel, four thousand mails for horses, and a great quantity of fine tissues and dresses, deposited in Cabul by the emperor Shaw Jehan. The king of Persia remained at Cabul seven months, before he would attempt to cross the Indus. He, in the mean time, kept up a correspondence with the conspirators in Delhi, and maturely settled his plan of operations. He at length put his army in motion, and directed his march to Peshawir. Finds great wealth in that city.

Nasir, the Mogul governor of Peshawir, had wrote, repeatedly, to the court of Delhi, for succours; but the captain-general Dowran, in his answers, affected to despise the king of Persia; and insinuated, that it was impossible he could meditate the conquest of Hindostan. He, however, promised, from time to time, that he himself would march with the imperial army, and drive the invader back to Persia. The disaffected omrahs wrote, at the same time, to Nasir, to make the best terms he could with Nadir Shaw; for that there was little hopes of his being reinforced with any part of the royal army. Provinces of Peshawir submits.

Nasir,

A.D. 1738. November 20. Nasir, finding himself neglected by the court, after a faint resistance, surrendered himself prisoner to the king of Persia, upon the 20th of Shaban. He was soon after taken into favour by that monarch, and appointed one of his viziers. Nadir Shaw had, by this time, crossed the Nilab, one of the most considerable of the five branches of the Indus. He issued out an order to ravage the country, to spread the terror of his arms far and wide.

Consternation at Delhi. Daily advices of the approach of the Persians came to Delhi. A general consternation among the people, and a distraction in the councils of the government, ensued. The king and his minister Dowran were so weak, that either they did not suspect the treachery of the disaffected omrahs, or took no measures to prevent their designs. New obstacles were daily thrown in the way of the military preparations of Dowran, till the Nizam and his colleagues thought that the procrastination which they had occasioned had sufficiently weakened the imperial cause.

A camp formed, December 1. Upon the first of Ramzan, the Vizier, the Nizam and Dowran, encamped without the city, with a great train of artillery, and began to levy forces. Nadir Shaw, during these transactions, crossed the Bea, and on the first of Shawal, appeared before Lahore. Zekiria, governor of the city and province, who was encamped with 5000 horse before the walls, retreated into the city. He, the next day, marched out and attacked the Persians. 1739. January. A general rout of his army was the consequence, and the conquerors were so close to the heels of the run-aways, that they possessed themselves of the gates. Zekiria waited immediately upon Nadir Shaw, with a royal present of half a lack of rupees, was politely received by that monarch, and Lahore was preserved from being plundered.

The

The king of Persia continued his march towards Delhi, and upon the 14th of Zicada, appeared in sight of the imperial army. The emperor was encamped upon the plains of Karnal; so that only the canal, which supplied Delhi with water, divided the armies. The Moguls had only possessed themselves of that ground about two days before the arrival of Nadir Shaw, and had thrown up entrenchments and redoubts before them, mounted with five hundred pieces of artillery. The army, which the king now commanded in person, consisted of 150,000 horse, exclusive of irregular infantry. This unwieldy body of militia was composed of all sorts of people, collected indiscriminately in the provinces, by the omrahs, who thought that a sufficient number of men and horses was all that was necessary to form a good army. Subordination was a thing unknown in the Mogul camp: the private soldier, as well as the omrah, acted only by the impulse of his own mind.

A.D. 1739. Nadir Shaw in full march to Delhi. February 14.

The Persians, though not so numerous as the Moguls, were under some degree of regulation. The rank of Nadir Shaw's officers was determined; and his own commands were instantly and implicitly obeyed. Severe to excess, he pardoned no neglect or disobedience in his omrahs. He has even been known to send a mace-bearer to a general, at the head of 5000 horse, with orders to make him halt and receive corporal punishment, for a misdemeanour, in the front of his own men. Though this rigour may be thought in Europe too tyrannical and repugnant to a military spirit; yet, in a country where the principles of honour are little known, fear is the strongest motive to a strict performance of duty.

His discipline.

The governor of Oud, upon the 14th of Zicada, having out-marched his baggage, joined the imperial army. Just as he was receiving an ho-

February 14. Treachery of Sadit Chan.

A.D. 1739. norary dress from the emperor, advice came that the light horse of Nadir Shaw had attacked his baggage. Sadit requested of the king to be permitted to march out against the enemy. The whole of this attack was a plan concerted between Nadir Shaw and the traitor, in order to draw the Moguls from their entrenchments. The king, however, laid his commands upon Sadit to wait until the next morning, when, "by the favour of God," he intended to march out, with his whole army, to give the Persians battle. But so little did Sadit regard Mahommed's orders, that, as soon as he had quitted the presence, he issued out with 1000 horse, which he had brought from his government, and attacked the enemy. A mock engagement now commenced, between Sadit and a part of the Persian army, who were ordered to retreat before him. He sent repeated messages, from the field to the king, requesting more troops, and that he would drive the enemy back to Persia.

Dowran attacks the Persians

The emperor, justly incensed at the disobedience of Sadit, would not, for some time, permit any succours to be sent to him. Dowran, at length, prevailed with the king to permit him, with 15,000 men, to support Sadit. When Dowran came up to the field, Sadit, in a feigned attack, joined the Persians, and permitted himself to be taken prisoner. His design was to get the start of his partner in treason, the Nizam, in engaging the Persian monarch in his interest.

with great bravery.

In the mean time, the troops of Sadit being strangers to the treachery of their commander, joined Dowran, and continued the engagement. Dowran was immediately attacked on all sides by the bulk of the Persian army. He, however, for some time, maintained his ground with great firmness and resolution; and was at length unwillingly drawn from the field, though he had

received a wound which soon after proved mortal, by three repeated messages from the king, commanding his immediate attendance. A.D. 1739.

Recalled to the camp.

Mahommed was, with good reason, apprehensive that the Nizam, who was then in the camp, was preparing to seize him, which made him so anxious for the presence of Dowran. When the wounded general appeared before the king, he told him of the situation of affairs, and earnestly intreated him to permit him to return to the field, with the troops which were under his immediate command, as captain-general, consisting of 36,000 men, together with two hundred pieces of cannon. "Grant my request," said he, "and you shall never see me return but in triumph."

The king apprehensive of the Nizam.

The king was now perplexed beyond measure. He dreaded the designs of the Nizam, should Dowran be absent, and, at the same time, he durst not permit the traitor to march out of the lines, for fear he should join the Persians. He, therefore, fell into the common error of weak minds, and hesitated, in hopes that delay would give birth to a more favourable concurrence of events.—He was deceived: the happy moment, for the preservation of himself and the empire, was now upon the wing. His troops maintained still their ground, under Muziffer, the gallant brother of Dowran; and a reinforcement would turn the scale of victory in their favour.

Gallant behaviour of Muziffer.

When Dowran quitted the field, the command of those Moguls, who were engaged, devolved upon his brother Muziffer. That brave omrah made a violent charge upon the Persian army, and penetrated to the very door of Nadir Shaw's tent. There, for want of being supported from the camp, Muziffer, Ali, Dowran's son, Raja Gugermull, Mullu, Eadgar, and twenty-seven

 officers

A. D. 1739. officers of distinction, covered one small spot of ground with their bodies. Ten thousand common Mogul soldiers were slain in this desperate action, which had almost proved fatal to Nadir Shaw; for his whole army were upon the point of giving way, several great detachments having fled back forty miles from the field of battle. After the engagement, the few that remained of the Moguls, retired within the entrenchments *.

Dowran dies of his wounds.

Dowran, though wounded, had that night an interview with the Nizam. It was agreed, that the whole army should next morning march out of the lines, and attack the Persians in their camp. But when the morning came, Dowran's wound, which he had received in the arm, was so much inflamed, that he could not act, and, therefore, the meditated attack was delayed. In the evening of the 18th, a mortification ensued, which was then attributed to something applied to the wound by a surgeon bribed by the Nizam; and many in India still continue in the same belief. Be that as it will, Dowran expired that night, amidst the tears of his sovereign, who had a great friendship for him.

February 18.

Designs of the Nizam.

When this brave omrah, on whom alone the hopes of the emperor rested, was dead, the Nizam stood unrivalled in the management of affairs. The whole authority devolved upon him, and the king became a cypher in the midst of his own camp. The traitor finding now the power of the empire in his hands, under a certainty of being able to dispose of the king at any time, according

* Fraser says, that only 4000 Persians were engaged; but we have reason to doubt his authority, as we derive our account from several persons who were present in the action.

cording to his own pleasure, set a treaty on foot with Nadir Shaw, for the immediate return of that monarch into Persia. So little hopes had the Persian, at this time, of conquering the Mogul empire, that he actually agreed for the pitiful sum of fifty lacks of rupees, about six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, to evacuate Hindostan. A.D. 1739.

Sadit, who we have already observed, was in the Persian camp, hearing of these transactions, used all possible means to break off the treaty. The regard of Nadir Shaw to his plighted faith, was not proof against the lucrative offers of Sadit. That omrah promised to pay to the Persian two crores of rupees or two millions five hundred thousand pounds out of his own private fortune, upon condition he should reduce the Nizam, and place himself at the head of the administration. —In the mean time, the Nizam, who was now appointed captain-general by the emperor, finding that Nadir Shaw broke the treaty, began to talk in a high strain, and to make preparations for coming to action with the Persians, to which the king strenuously urged him. But the active spirit of Nadir Shaw was not idle during these transactions. He possessed himself of several strong posts round the Indian camp, and totally cut off their supplies of provisions. The Nizam, perceiving that he must act with great disadvantage, if he should march out of his lines and attack the Persians, began to renew the treaty, and offered more than Sadit had done to Nadir Shaw. Frustrated by Sadit.

Mahommed, being informed that these two villains, without his communication, were making separate bargains, about himself and his empire, and that he even had not the shadow of authority in his own camp, took a sudden reso- February 20. Mahommed resolves to visit the king of Persia.

 lution

A.D. 1739. lution to throw himself upon the clemency of Nadir Shaw. "A declared enemy," said he, to the few friends who still adhered to him, "is "by no means to be dreaded so much as secret "foes, under the specious character of friends." Having, therefore, previously acquainted the Persian of his intentions, he set out in the morning of the 20th, in his travelling throne, with a small retinue, for Nadir Shaw's camp.

His reception. The king of Persia, upon the Mogul's approach, sent his son, Nisir Alla, to conduct him to the royal tent. Nadir Shaw advanced a few steps from his throne, and embraced Mahommed, and sitting down, placed him upon his left hand. The substance of their conversation has been already given to the public by Fraser: and, therefore, we shall only observe here, that Nadir Shaw severely reprimanded the Mogul, for his pusillanimous behaviour, in paying the Chout to the Mahrattors, and for suffering himself to be invested in his camp, in the very centre of his dominions, without making one effort to repel the invasion.

Nadir Shaw in perplexity. Nadir Shaw, after this conversation, retired to another tent, called to him his vizier, and consulted with him what was best to be done with Mahommed in this critical situation. The vizier told him, that, should he confine the king, the Nizam, who commanded the army, would immediately act for himself; and, as he was an able officer, they might meet with great difficulty in reducing him. But that, should the king be permitted to return to the camp with assurances of friendship and protection, a party would join him, that would, at least, be a balance against the influence of the Nizam.

His policy. Nadir Shaw saw the propriety of what his vizier advised. He immediately returned to the royal tent, and told Mahommed, that, as hitherto

therto the imperial house of Timur had not injured the Persians, it was far from his intentions to deprive Mahommed of his kingdom. "But," said he, "with a determined look, "the expence "of this expedition must be paid, and, during "the time of collecting the money, my fatigued "army must refresh themselves in Delhi." The emperor made little reply to Nadir Shaw's discourse. He was, however, permitted to return to his camp, and the Persian began to lay schemes to seize the Nizam. One Casim Beg was employed in this affair. He, in Nadir Shaw's name, made the Nizam many protestations of friendship, and obtained a promise, that he would visit that monarch in his camp. He accordingly, upon the 24th, set out, and was, immediately upon his arrival in the Persian lines, seized, and, together with some great omrahs who attended him, confined. A.D. 1739.

Mahommed, looking upon the Nizam's confinement as a plan laid by the traitor himself, in order that he might negotiate matters with the Persian with more security, determined to pay a second visit to Nadir Shaw.—That monarch had, by this time, secured most of the Mogul omrahs, one after another, and when the emperor, upon the 26th, arrived in the camp, a tent was pitched for him near the royal pavilion. The unfortunate Mahommed was carried into his tent, and left for some time alone. A collation was brought him, and he ate very heartily, without betraying any symptoms of being affected with his unhappy situation. Nadir Shaw was greatly astonished when he heard of Mahommed's behaviour, and exclaimed, "What kind "of man must this be, who can, with so much "indifference, give his freedom and empire to "the wind! But we are told by the wise, that "greatness of mind consists in two extremes: to February 26. Mahommed's insensibility to his misfortunes.

A. D. 1739 "suffer patiently, or to act boldly; to despise "the world, or to exert all the powers of the "mind to command it.' This man has chosen "the former; but the latter was the choice of "Nadir Shaw."

Used with respect by Nadir Shaw.

Though Mahommed was hindered from returning to his own camp, he was permitted to have all his domestics about him, who amounted to three thousand. A thousand Persian horse mounted guard upon him: but this pretended honour which was conferred upon him, was a certain badge of his forlorn condition. In the mean time, Kummir, the vizier, Surbullind Chan, the Nizam, and all the principal Mogul omrahs, were kept in the same kind of honourable confinement. The Persian had now nothing to fear from an army without officers. He entered the camp, seized upon the ordnance, the military chest, the jewel office, the wardrobe and armoury.—He ordered three months pay to be immediately advanced to his troops, and the best of the artillery he sent off to Cabul.

March 2. Who marches to Delhi.

Upon the 2d of Zehidge, Nadir Shaw moved from Karnâl towards Delhi. The emperor, guarded by ten thousand men, marched a few miles in his rear. The Mogul army were, at the same time, ordered to march in two irregular columns, one on each side of the Persians, the front of whose column was advanced two miles beyond the other two. By continued marches, Nadir Shaw arrived upon the 8th in the suburbs of the city. He himself, at the head of 12,000 horse, entered the city next day.

Behaviour to the Nizam, &c.

The king of Persia, finding himself in possession of Delhi, called the Nizam and Sadit into his presence, and addressed them in the following extraordinary manner: "Are not you both "most ungrateful villains to your king and "country;

"country; who, after possessing such wealth "and dignities, called me from my own dominions to ruin them and yourselves?' But I "will scourge you all with my wrath, which is "the instrument of the vengeance of God." Having spoke these words, he spit upon their beards, the highest affront possible to Mussulmen, and turned them with every mark of indignity from his presence. A.D. 1739.

After the traitors were thrust out into the court of the palace, the Nizam addressed himself to Sadit, and swore by the holy Prophet, that he would not survive this indignity. Sadit applauded his resolution, and swore he would swallow poison upon his return home; the Nizam did the same; and both determined, in appearance, upon death, retired to their respective houses.

Sadit, in the mean time, sent a trusty spy to bring him intelligence when the Nizam should take his draught. The Nizam being come home, appeared in the deepest affliction: but having privately intimated his plot to a servant, he ordered him to bring him the poison. The servant acted his part well: he brought him an innocent draught with great reluctance. The Nizam, after some hesitation, and having formally said his prayers, drank it off in the presence of Sadit's spy, and soon after pretended to fall down dead. The spy hastened back to his master, and told him that the Nizam had just expired. Sadit, ashamed of being outdone in a point of honour by his fellow in iniquity, swallowed a draught of real poison, and became the just instrument of punishment to his own villany. The Nizam was not ashamed to live, though none had greater reason. He even prided in that wicked trick, by which he had rid himself of his rival, and

Their scheme to destroy themselves.

A. D. 1739. and afterwards actually enjoyed the intended fruits of all his villanies.

Gate of Delhi shut. The Persian, in the mean time, placed guards upon the gates of Delhi, with orders to permit no person whatever to pass in or out withouth special license. These strict injunctions were given, to prevent the inhabitants from evacuating the place, and from carrying away their wealth. He, at the same time, issued his commands, that no person whatsoever should be molested; but he demanded twenty-five crores, about thirty millions of our money, as a contribution for sparing the city.

Contributions imposed. Whilst the magistrates were contriving ways and means to raise this enormous sum, by laying a tax in proportion to their wealth on individuals, famine began to rage in the city, as all communication with the country was cut off.

March 10. Upon the 10th, Nadir Shaw ordered the granaries to be opened, and sold rice at a certain price. This occasioned a prodigious mob in all the public Bazars, particularly in the Shawgunge, or royal market. A Persian soldier in this market, seeing a man selling pigeons, seized by force upon his basket. The fellow to whom the pigeons belonged made a hideous outcry, and proclaimed aloud, That Nadir Shaw had ordered a general pillage.

A tumult. The mob immediately fell upon the Persian, who was protected by some of his own countrymen. A great tumult arose, and some persons, bent upon more mischief, cried aloud, That Nadir Shaw was dead; and that now was the time to drive the Persians out of the city. The citizens, who in general carried arms, drew their swords, and began to cut to pieces the Persians wherever they could be found. The report of the death of Nadir Shaw flew, like lightning, through

through every street in Delhi; and all places were filled with tumult, confusion, and death. It was now dark, and the Persians, who had been straggling through the city, returned to the citadel, except two thousand who were killed by the mob. A.D. 1739.

About twelve o'clock at night the king of Persia was informed of these transactions. He immediately ordered what men he had with him under arms, and, putting himself at their head, marched out as far as the Musgid of Roshin ul Dowlat. He thought it prudent to halt there till day-light should appear. He, in the mean time, sent for the Nizam, Sirbillund, and Kimmir the Mogul vizier, and threatened to put them to instant death, charging them with fomenting these tumults. They swore upon the Koran, that they were innocent, and he pardoned them. When day began to appear, a person from a neighbouring terrace fired upon Nadir Shaw, and killed an officer by his side. The king was so enraged, that, though the tumult had, by this time, totally subsided, he ordered the officers of the cavalry to lead the squadrons through the streets, and some musqueteers to scour the terraces, and to commence a general massacre among the unfortunate inhabitants. This order was executed with so much rigour, that, before two o'clock in the afternoon, above 100,000, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, lay dead in their blood, though not above one third part of the city was visited by the sword. Such was the panic, terror and confusion of these poor wretches, that instead of bravely opposing death, the men threw down their arms, and, with their wives and children, submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter. One Persian soldier often butchered a whole family, without meeting with any resistance. The Hindoos, according to their barbarous

Nadir Shaw informed of the tumult.

March 11.

Orders a general massacre.

A.D. 1739. barbarous custom, shut up their wives and daughters, and set fire to their apartments, and then threw themselves into the flames. Thousands plunged headlong into wells, and were drowned; death was seen in every horrid shape; and, at last, seemed rather to be sought after than avoided.

The king of Persia sat, during this dreadful scene, in the Musgid of Roshin ul Dowlat. None but the slave durst come near him, for his countenance was dark and terrible. At length, the unfortunate emperor, attended by a number of his chief omrahs, ventured to approach him with downcast eyes. The omrahs, who preceded Mahommed, bowed down their foreheads to the ground. Nadir Shaw sternly asked them what they wanted? They cried out, with one voice, "Spare the city." Mahommed said not a word, but the tears flowed fast from his eyes. The tyrant, for once touched with pity, sheathed his sword, and said, "For the sake of "the prince Mahommed, I forgive."

His severity.

No sooner had he pronounced these words, than, according to our author, the massacre was stopt; and so instantaneous was the effect of his orders, that in a few minutes every thing was calm in the city. He then retired into the citadel, and inquired into the original cause of this tumult. The noble Seid Neaz, the superintendant of the royal market, for having been active in this affair, was put to death. Kisrac, a brave omrah, for having defended his house against the Persians who came to massacre his family, but who had not been concerned in the tumult, was beheaded.

Massacre at Mogulpurra.

The tyrant's thirst for blood was not yet satisfied. He sent detachments daily to plunder the villages near Delhi, and to put all the inhabitants

bitants to the sword. Six thousand of the inhabitants of Mogulpurra were cut off for a very trivial offence. He sent a party into the royal market, where the tumult first arose, and ordered seven hundred persons to be seized indiscriminately, and their noses and ears to be cut off. A.D. 1739.

The city pillaged.

When now all disturbances were quelled by the blood of the unfortunate Delhians, the king of Persia had leisure to pillage the city at pleasure. He seized upon the public treasure and the regalia of the Mogul emperor. In the treasury several vaults were discovered, in which much wealth lay concealed, as well as many valuable effects. In the public treasury was found, in specie, near four millions sterling; in the private vaults were two millions five hundred thousand. The jewel-office was estimated at thirty millions sterling, including the famous throne of the Mogul emperors, which was valued at more than twelve millions. The royal wardrobe and armory were reckoned worth seven millions sterling. Eight millions were raised in specie, by way of contribution, upon the city, and about ten millions in jewels; all which, together with horses, camels and elephants, amount to about sixty-two millions five hundred thousand pounds of our money.

Nidar Shaw's cruelty.

Great cruelties were exercised in levying the contributions upon the city. Under an arbitrary government, like that of India, individuals find it necessary to conceal their wealth. Some omrahs, therefore, who had very little, were taxed very high, whilst others who were rich came off with a moderate sum. Many of the former, under the supposition that they actually possessed more wealth, were, after they had given all they were worth in the world, tortured

A.D. 1739. tortured to death; whilst others, to avoid pain, shame, and poverty, put, with their own hands, an end to their miserable existence.

Upon the 21st of Mohirrim, the king of Persia celebrated the nuptials of his son, the prince Nasir Ali, with the daughter of Ezidan, the son of Kam, and grandson of the famous Aurungzebe. The Shaw himself discovered a violent desire to espouse the beautiful daughter of Muziffer *; but he was prevented by one of his wives, who had the art to command the furious spirit of Nadir Shaw, which the rest of the world could not controul.

Humanity of an actor.

During all these transactions the gates of the city were kept shut. Famine began to rage every day more and more; but the Shaw was deaf to the miseries of mankind. The public spirit of Tucki, a famous actor, deserves to be recorded upon this occasion. He exhibited a play before Nadir Shaw, with which that monarch was so well pleased, that he commanded Tucki, to ask, and what he wished should be done for him. Tucki fell upon his face, and said, "O king, command the gates to be opened, that "the poor may not perish!" His request was granted, and half the city poured out into the country; and the place was supplied in a few days with plenty of provisions.

Mahommed reinstated in the throne.

The king of Persia, having now raised all the money he could in Delhi, reinstated Mahommed in the empire, upon the third of Siffer, with great solemnity and pomp. He placed the crown upon his head with his own hand, and presented him with a rich honorary dress; distributing,

* The brother of Dowran. He was slain in the battle at Karnal.

tributing, at the same time, forty more among the Mogul omrahs. He then gave the emperor some instructions concerning the regulation of his army; to which he added some general maxims of government. He put him upon his guard against the Nizam, who, he plainly perceived, aspired above the rank of a subject. "Had not I," said the king of Persia, "foolishly passed my word for his safety, the "old* traitor should not live to disturb Ma-"hommed." A.D. 1739.

Every thing being ready upon the 7th, for Nadir Shaw's return to Persia, strict orders were issued to his army to carry no slaves away, nor any Indian women, contrary to their inclinations, upon pain of immediate death. Before his departure, he obliged Mahommed formally to cede, to the crown of Persia, the provinces of Cabul, Peshawir, Kandahâr, Ghizni, Moultan and Sind, or in general all those countries which lay to the northwest of the Indus. The whole of the treasure which Nadir Shaw carried from Hindostan, amounted, by the best computation, to eighty millions of our money. Nadir Shaw marches towards Persia.

When this destructive comet, to use the expression of our Indian author, rolled back from the meridian of Delhi, he burnt all the towns and villages in his way to Lahore, and marked his route with devastation and death. "But "before he disappears behind the mountains of "Persia," says our author, continuing the metaphor of the comet, "it may not be improper "to throw some light on the character of this "scourge of Hindostan." Nadir Shaw, together with great strength of body, was endued with uncom- His character.

* The Nizam was near ninety years of age.

A.D. 1739. uncommon force of mind. Inured to fatigue from his youth, struggling with dangers and difficulties, he acquired vigour from opposition, and a fortitude of soul unknown in a life of ease. His ambition was unbounded and undisguised: he never fawned for power, but demanded it as the property of his superior parts. Had he been born to a throne, he deserved it; had he continued a subject, his glories would have been less dazzling, but more permanent and pure.

In a country where patriotizm and honour are principles little known, fear is the only means to enforce obedience. This rendered Nadir Shaw so cruel and inexorable, that often, in his rage and the hurry of action, he inflicted general punishments for the crimes of a few. Courage, which he possessed in common with the lion, was his only virtue; and he owed his greatness to the great defects of his mind. Had his eye melted at human miseries, had his soul shuddered at murder, had his breast glowed once with benevolence, or, had his heart revolted at any injustice, he might have lived to an old age, but he would have died without the name of Nadir *.

Ambition of the Nizam.

The king of Persia having evacuated India, the Nizam began to discover his own ambitious designs. His rivals were now all removed; some by his villany, and others by favourable accidents. Without opposition the management of affairs fell into his hands. Though he ingrossed in fact, the whole power, he delegated the great offices of the state to others. The name of vizier was retained by Kimmer, and that of captain-

* Wonderful.

captain-general, was conferred upon the Nizam's son, the noble Ghazi ul dien. He appointed Emir subadâr of Allahabad, which so disgusted Mahommed Bunguish, to whom that government was promised by the former administration, that he left the court without leave, and repaired to his estate at Ferochabad. A.D. 1739.

The government of Oud being vacant by the death of Sadit, that subaship was conferred upon an omrah, called Seifdar Jung, together with the title of Burhan ul muluck. The Nizam, having nothing to fear from the subas of the other provinces, continued them in their employs. Notwithstanding the severe blow which the empire had just received, no measures were taken to revive the declining power of the crown. This was, by no means, the interest of the Nizam, who now assumed every thing of the king, but the name. Seifdar Jung made suba of Oud.

Mahommed having suffered himself to be divested of his power in his capital, it could not be expected that his authority should be much regarded in the provinces. The nabobs and Indian princes, throughout the empire, paid now little attention to the firmans of the court of Delhi. Each of them entertained ideas of independence, and actually possessed a regal authority in their governments.—The Mahrattors, who had, for some time back, made large strides to establish the ancient Hindoo government in India, in the year 1153, made an incursion into the Carnatic with an army of eighty thousand horse, under the command of Ragojee. Having forced the passes of the mountains, they fell unexpectedly upon Doost Ali, nabob of that province, in subordination to the Nizam, who was governor-general of the Decan. The forces of Ali Doost were defeated, and he himself, to- Debility of the empire. A.D. 1740.

A.D. 1740. gether with his son, Hassen Ali, fell in the action, after having exhibted extraordinary feats of bravery and firmness.

Affairs of the Decan. Sipadar Ali, the son, and Chunder Saib, the son-in-law of Doost Ali, had still considerable armies under their command. But both having views upon the government of the province, instead of opposing the Mahrattors, committed hostilities upon one another. The consequence was, that they were obliged to shut themselves up in places of strength, the first in Velour, and the latter in Trichinopoly. The enemy were, by this means, permitted to ravage the province at their leisure, and to raise heavy contributions upon the inhabitants.

Sipadar Ali, finding he could effect nothing in the field against the Mahrattors, set a negotiation on foot with them, by the means of his father's minister, who had been taken prisoner in the action by those barbarians. It was at last determined in private, that, upon condition the Mahrattors should immediately evacuate the Carnatic, they should receive one hundred lacks of rupees, at stated periods; and that, as a security for the payment of this sum, they should be put in possession of the territory of Trichinopoly. One of the terms was, that Sipadar Ali should be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic.

Ali, having thus strengthened himself with the alliance of the Mahrattors, his brother-in-law thought it prudent to pay him homage at Arcot; not knowing that Trichinopoly, and those districts which he possessed, had been made over to the Mahrattors. The barbarians, in the mean time, returned to their own dominions; but, about six months thereafter, they made a second irruption into the Carnatic, to take possession

session of the territories which had been privately ceded to them by Sipadar Ali. Chunder Saib shut himself up in Trichinopoly; and after sustaining a siege of three months, was, upon the seventh of Mohirrim 1154, obliged to surrender at discretion. A.D. 1740.

These transactions in the Decan did not disturb the peace at Delhi. The king and his ministers continued in a profound lethargy ever since the invasion of Nadir Shaw, and seemed indifferent about the affairs of the distant provinces. But a pressing danger at home roused them for a moment. A fellow, from the low rank of a grass-cutter, raised himself to the command of a gang of robbers. As in the debilitated state of government, he committed, for some time, his depredations with impunity, his banditti, by degrees, swelled to an army of twelve thousand men. He immediately assumed the imperial ensigns, under the title of Daranti Shaw. This mushroom of a king was, however, soon destroyed. Azim Alla, a gallant omrah, was sent against him with an army from Delhi. He came up with the rebels, cut the most of them to pieces, and slew Daranti in the action. This happened in the 1153 of the Higera. Affairs at Delhi.

In the month of Rigib 1154, Sipadar Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, was assassinated by his brother-in-law, Mortaz Ali, who immediately acceded to the Musnud. But a general mutiny arising in the army, the murderer was obliged to fly from his capital, in a female dress; and Mahummud, the son of Sipadar, was proclaimed suba of the Carnatic.

The Nizam, who claimed the sovereignty of the Decan, seeing these repeated revolutions in the Carnatic, without his concurrence, began Nizam marches into the Decan.

A.D. 1741. to prepare to leave the court of Delhi. He settled his affairs with the ministry, and returned to Hydrabad. He immediately collected an army, and, in the month of Ramzan 1155, marched towards the Carnatic with near three hundred thousand men. In the Siffer of 1156, the Nizam arrived at Arcot without opposition; and found the country in such anarchy and confusion, that no less than twenty petty chiefs had assumed the titles of Nabob. The Nizam made a regulation, that whoever should take the name of Nabob, for the future, without permission, should be publicly scourged; and raised immediately Abdulla, one of his own generals, to the subaship of Arcot, ordering the son of Sipadar Ali into confinement. He, at the same time, possessed himself of the city of Trichinopoly, by means of a sum of money which he gave to Malhar Raw, who commanded there on the part of the Mahrattors.

Settles that country. The Nizam, without drawing the sword, thus settled the affairs of the Carnatic. He returned in triumph to Golcondah, whither Abdulla, the new governor of Arcot, accompanied him. Abdulla, returned towards his government, was, the first night after his taking leave of the Nizam, found dead in his bed. Abdulla was succeeded in the nabobship of Arcot, by Anwar ul dien Chan; who, according to the accounts of some suspicious Asiatics, was said to have made away with his predecessor in office. There was, however, no reasonable foundation for this suspicion. He was descended of one of the noblest of the Mogul families, and remarkable for his justice and moderation. At once a soldier and a scholar, he was fitted both for the field and cabinet. His talents procured to him the government of the Carnatic.

He

He made different pilgrimages to Mecca, which made him as much revered for his piety, as he was esteemed for his abilities. He died in arms, at the age of eighty, in defending his dominions against the enemies of Great Britain. A.D. 1741.

Becomes independent.

The Nizam, in this absolute manner, disposed of the provinces of the Decan, without the concurrence of the court, and actually became king of that country, though he never assumed that title. In the mean time, the Nizam's son, Ghazi ul dien, overawed the emperor at Delhi, and left that indolent prince no more than the mere shadow of royalty.

Revolt in Bengal.

Whilst the Decan, that great limb of the Mogul empire, was cut off by the Nizam, Aliverdi Chan usurped the government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. This fellow was once a common soldier, who, together with his brother Hamed, came from Tartary in quest of service to Delhi. In that city they continued for some time in the service of the famous Dowran, and afterwards became menial servants to Suja Chan, nabob of Cattack. Suja Chan, after the death of Jaffier, succeeded to the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The two Tartars, being possessed of good natural parts, and some education, rose gradually into office, and were greatly favoured by the nabob. Hamed had, in a manner, become his prime minister, and, by his political intrigues in the haram, obtained the place of naib, or deputy of the province of Behar, for his brother Aliverdi, who was then a captain of horse. Aliverdi was not long established in his high employ, when he began to tamper with the venal ministry of Delhi, for a separate commission for the province which he then held of Suja Chan. Money, which has great influence in every country, is all power-

A.D. 1741. ful in Hindostan. Aliverdi strengthened his solicitations with a round sum, and, by the means of the captain-general Dowran, became independent suba of Behar.

Suja Chan dying soon after, was succeeded in the subaship of Bengal by his son Sirfaraz. We do not mean to insinuate that he had any right of inheritance to his father's government, or that the subadary had been established in his family by any grant of the crown, which was contrary to the established laws of the empire: but the imperial authority was now so weak, that the nabobs took upon themselves to bequeath the governments to their sons, who were afterwards, through a fatal necessity, generally confirmed from Delhi.

Sirfaraz, being a man of a haughty and imperious disposition, soon lost the affection of all his officers. He disgraced Hamed, and tarnished the honour of the powerful family of those opulent merchants, the Jagga Seat, by a foolish act of power. Hamed, however, took advantage of the disaffection to Sirfaraz's government. He formed a conspiracy against the nabob, and invited his brother Aliverdi to invade Bengal. Aliverdi accordingly marched from Patna, in the month of Ramzan 1154, and entering Bengal, defeated and killed Sirfaraz, at Geriah, near Muxadabad, and, without further opposition, became suba of the three provinces.

Impolitic behaviour of the emperor.

The weak emperor, instead of chastising the usurper with an army from Delhi, fell upon an expedient at once disgraceful and impolitic. The Mahrattors threatened Mahommed for the Chout, which, before the Persian invasion, he had promised to pay them; and he gave them a commission to raise it themselves upon

upon the revolted provinces. The Suu* Raja, the chief of the Mahrattors, sent accordingly an army of 50,000 horse, from his capital of Sattara, to invade Bengal. This force, under the conduct of Boscar Pundit, ravaged, with fire and sword, all those districts which lie to the west of the Ganges. A. D. 1742.

Aliverdi Chan usurps the government of Bengal, &c.

Aliverdi, who was a brave soldier, defended himself with great resolution. But he owed more to his villany than to his arms. Having found means to assassinate the leader of the Mahrattors, he forced them to retreat.—When the news of the murder reached the ears of the Suu Raja, he ordered two other armies into Bengal; one by the way of Behar, and another by that of Cattack. The first was commanded by Balla Raw, and the latter by Ragojee.——Aliverdi, not being able to cope with this great force in the field, had recourse to art. He sowed dissension between the two chiefs; set a private treaty on foot with Balla Raw; who, having received two years chout, evacuated the provinces, leaving his colleague to make the best terms he could for himself. The scale was now turned against the Mahrattors. Ragojee retreated to Cattack, and, with constant incursions and flying parties, greatly harassed the provinces. The good fortune of Aliverdi at length prevailed, and he saw himself independent sovereign of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; though, to quiet the minds of the people, he pretended to possess grants from the court, which he himself had actually forged.

We have been purposely succinct on the manner in which the Decan and Bengal were dismembered from the empire, as the facts are already

* Suu, in the Shanscritta language, signifies *Glorious*.

A.D. 1744. already pretty well known in Europe. We return, now, to the affairs of the interior provinces. This subject has hitherto been touched by no writer, and very few Europeans in Asia have made any considerable inquiries concerning it.

Affairs at court.

During these transactions, nothing happened at Delhi, but the intrigues and factions of a weak and corrupt administration. In the year 1157, Ali Mahummud, a Pattan of the Rohilla tribe, Zemindar of Bangur and Awla, began to appear in arms. Ali was a soldier of fortune, and a native of the mountains of Cabulistan, who, some years before his rebellion, came to Delhi, with about three hundred followers of his own tribe, and was entertained in the imperial service. Being esteemed a gallant officer, the command of a small district, upon the road between Delhi and Lahore, was conferred upon him; where he entertained all vagrants of his own clan, who came down in quest of military service, from their native mountains. In this manner Ali expended all the rents of his district, and he was hard pressed for the payment of the crown's proportion of his income, by the fojedar of Muradabad, to whom he was accountable.

Hernind, the fojedar, despairing to get any part of the revenue from Ali, by fair means, prepared to use force. He raised 15,000 of his own vassals, with a design to expel or chastise the refractory Zemindar. Ali, by the assistance of his northern friends, who lived upon him, defeated Hernind, with great slaughter, and thus laid the foundation of the Rohilla government, now so formidable in Hindostan.

Kimmir, the vizier, upon receiving intelligence at Delhi of this blow to the regal authority, dispatched his own son, the noble Munnu, a youth

a youth of great bravery, with an army of 30,000, against the rebels. Munnu, crossing the Jumna, advanced to a place called Gurmuchtisher, on the banks of the Ganges, and found that Ali had acquired so much strength, since his late victory, that he feared the issue of an engagement. A negotiation, therefore, was set on foot, and, after the armies had lain three months in sight of one another, a treaty was concluded. The conditions were, that Ali should keep possession of the countries, formerly comprehended in the government of Herniud, upon paying the ancient revenues to the crown, and that, in the mean time, one year's payment should be advanced in four months. A.D. 1745.

After this treaty was ratified, Munnu returned to Delhi: but the appointed time elapsed, without any payments on the part of Ali. He continued to strengthen himself, annexed more districts to his government, and ravaged the neighbouring countries to subsist his army. He, in short, became formidable enough to rouse the indolent emperor from his lethargy. That monarch took the field with fifty or sixty thousand horse, and in the year 1158 crossed the Jumna.

Rebellion quelled.

Ali, upon the king's approach, retreated across the Ganges, and shut himself in Bangur, a place of some strength, where the imperial army invested him. The rebel, for the first two nights, made successful sallies, and killed many in the imperial camp. The king, however, having drawn lines of circumvallation round the fort, after a short but bloody siege, obliged the garrison to capitulate. Ali made terms for his own life, and he was brought prisoner to Delhi, where, he remained in confinement for six months.

The

A. D. 1746. The Pattan chiefs, who were always, in private, enemies to the government of the Moguls, casting their eyes upon Ali, as a very proper person to raise their own interest, solicited the emperor for his release. The weak monarch granted their request: but the Pattans, not yet satisfied, obtained for Ali the fojedarship of Sirhind.—This was such wretched policy in the court of Delhi, that nothing but downright infatuation, folly, and the last degree of corruption in the ministry, could ever have permitted it to take place. The consequence was, that Ali collected his dispersed tribe, kept possession of Sirhind, of several districts between the rivers and beyond the Ganges, without remitting one rupee to court.

Achmet Abdalla. We have already seen, that all the provinces to the north-west of the Indus were ceded to Nadir Shaw. When that conqueror was assassinated in Persia, Achmet Abdalla, a native of Herat, who had raised himself in his service, from the office of Chobdar, or mace-bearer, to that of Chazanchi, or treasurer, found means, with the assistance of his own tribe, in the confusion which succeeded the Shaw's death, to carry off three hundred camels loaded with wealth, to the mountains of Afghanistan. This treasure enabled Abdalla to raise an army, and to possess himself by degrees of the districts of the mountains, Herat, part of Chorrassan, and all the provinces ceded by the crown of Hindostan to the king of Persia. Thus Abdalla laid the foundation of an empire, in those countries, which formerly composed the great monarchy of Ghizni.

Invades the empire; Abdalla, perceiving the declining state of the Mogul government in Hindostan, crossed the Nilab, the ancient Hydaspes, one of the branches of

of the Indus, in the beginning of the year 1160, and raising contributions upon his march, advanced towards Delhi, with 50,000 horse. The poor Delhians were struck with universal panic. The king himself was sick; and there were distractions in the councils of the ministers. The pressure of the danger cemented all their differences. Ahmed Shaw, the prince royal, Kimmir, the vizier, Seid Sullabit, and Seifdar Jung, took the field, with 80,000 horse, and marched to oppose the invader. A.D. 1747.

The imperial army left Delhi upon the 18th of Siffer, and advanced to a place called Minoura, twenty miles beyond Sirhind. Abdalla's army were here in sight; and both, afraid of the issue of a battle, strongly entrenched themselves. In this situation they remained for thirty days; sometimes skirmishing, and at other times negotiating; but the Mogul prince having no money to give, Abdalla would not retreat. is opposed.

Abdalla, in the mean time, found means to advance some pieces of artillery, which bore upon the flank of the imperial army. In the evening the vizier, being at prayers, received a shot in the knee, and died that night. As he was very much esteemed by the army, which in reality he commanded, though the prince bore the name, it was proposed to Ahmed Shaw, by Munnu, the vizier's son, to conceal his death, lest the troops, who depended upon his courage and capacity, should be affected by that accident. The prince, seeing the propriety of this measure, called together a few of his principal omrahs, and held a council of war. It was resolved that the body of the vizier should be mounted upon his own elephant, in the howadar, supported with pillows; and that in the morning, by day-break, they should issue out of the camp, and engage the enemy. The vizier killed.

Orders

A. D. 1747.

Policy of his son.

Orders were accordingly given that night to the omrahs, to hold their troops in readiness, and their respective stations appointed to each. In the morning, before day, the imperial army was in motion; but Abdalla, having previous notice of their intentions, had prepared to receive them in his camp. The young prince Ahmed led the attack with uncommon bravery, and was gallantly seconded by Munnu, who performed surprizing feats of personal valour.—The Persian defended himself with equal resolution, for the space of three hours. At length, his entrenchments were trodden down by the elephants, and the imperial army poured into his camp.

A battle.

An unfortunate circumstance, at this instant, totally changed the face of affairs. Issur Singh, the son of Joysingh, the Indian prince of Ajmere, who commanded twenty thousand horse, rode up to the vizier's elephant for orders, and discovered that he was dead. Issur Singh was naturally a coward, and only wanted an excuse to hide his head from danger. He turned immediately his face from the field, and was followed by all his troops. The flight of so great a part of the army drew many after them, particularly Seifdar Jung, governor of Oud, and father of the present Souja ul Dowlat. Abdalla not only recovered his troops from their confusion, but pressed hard upon the imperialists in his turn. Munnu, upon this urgent occasion, displayed all the bravery of a young hero, together with all the conduct of an old general. He formed in a column, and encouraging his troops, by words and example, bent his whole force against Abdalla's centre. He, at the same time, dispatched a messenger to Issur Singh and Seifdar Jung, assuring them that Abdalla was already defeated,

and

and if they would return and assist him in the pursuit, he would permit none of them ever to repass the Indus. The stratagem had the desired effect. They returned in full gallop to the field, and renewed the charge with great vigour. A.D. 1747.

Abdalla having almost assured himself of the victory, was, by this unexpected check, thrown into great confusion. Munnu took immediate advantage of the enemy's consternation, drove them off the field, and pursued them ten miles beyond their camp. The loss was nearly equal on both sides; but a complete victory remained to the Moguls, for which they were entirely indebted to the surprising efforts of Munnu. Abdalla defeated.

A single defeat was not enough to discourage Abdalla, who was a brave officer. He collected his discomfited army, disgraced some of his chief omrahs, conferred their rank and honours upon others, rewarded those who had behaved well, and with his sword drawn, riding through and through his troops, encouraged them again to action. The Moguls were not a little surprized, next morning, to see Abdalla, whom they prepared to pursue, with his army drawn up in order of battle before their camp.—This uncommon confidence in a defeated enemy threw a damp upon the courage of the conquerors. They contented themselves with forming the line, and with standing in expectation of the charge.—Abdalla, as the prince had some advantage of ground, at the same time declined coming to action, and, in the evening, encamped at a small distance. His undaunted behaviour.

The second day was spent in skirmishes, and a distant cannonade: but, upon the third, to use a Persian expression, the interval of battle was closed,' and the shock was very violent. Though irregular armies of horse make little impression upon a solid body of well-disciplined A second battle.

infantry,

A.D. 1747. infantry, yet when they engage one another, upon equal terms, each trusts to the strength of his own arm, and the battle is in general extremely bloody. This irregular kind of attack, it must be allowed, requires a greater degree of personal courage, where man to man is opposed, than to stand wedged in a close battalion, where the danger may indeed be as great, but not so apparent.

Abdalla again defeated.

The young prince, Ahmed, distinguished himself in a particular manner in this action; and Munnu, tenacious of the glory he had already acquired, was not to be resisted. Abdalla, after an obstinate resistance, was again driven off the field, and pursued across the Suttuluz. Here Abdalla, in spite of his misfortunes, like an able and gallant commander, put the best face upon his affairs. He had lost all his artillery and baggage, and being now less incumbered than the imperial army, he made a forced march, and, taking a circuit to the right, repassed the river, and next day, to the astonishment of the prince and Munnu, was heard of thirty-six miles in the rear, in full march towards Delhi.

Turns the rear of the imperial army.

Intelligence of Abdalla's march being received in the capital, every thing fell into the utmost confusion, and a general panic prevailed. Ghazi ul dien, the Nizam's son, being at court, collected what forces he could, and marched out of the city to oppose Abdalla. The enemy hearing of this army in their front, would proceed no further. His troops, with one voice, told Abdalla, That, before they advanced towards Delhi, it was necessary to defeat the imperial army which was behind them. He was therefore constrained to march back towards the prince and Munnu, who expected a third battle: but Abdalla thought it prudent to decline it; and by

by night, repassed the Moguls, and continued his route to Lahore. A.D. 1747.

A change of affairs at the court of Delhi happening at this time, prevented the prince and Munnu from pursuing Abdalla. They encamped on the banks of the Suttuluz, where Ahmed Shaw proposed to confer the subaship of Lahore upon any of his omrahs who would undertake to recover it from Abdalla. After this offer had been declined by all of them, it was accepted upon these terms by Munnu; who, with a division of the army, marched towards Lahore, while Ahmed returned with the rest to Delhi. The emperor had an inviolable friendship for his vizier, Kimmir ul dien. In the tottering state of the regal authority, all his confidence was reposed in that minister. When therefore the news of Kimmir's death came to him at Delhi, he immediately considered his own affairs as desperate. He retired to a private apartment, and wept bitterly all night. In the morning he mounted the throne as usual, to give public audience; and, whilst every flattering courtier was running out in praise of the deceased, the emperor seemed much affected. He at last exclaimed, "O cruel fate! thus to break the staff "of my old age—Where now shall I find so "faithful a servant?"—With these words he fell into a fit, to which he was sometimes subject, and expired sitting upon his throne. Affairs at Delhi.

The death of Mahommed happened upon the 8th of the second Ribbi, in the 1160 year of the Higera, after a disastrous reign of thirty years. The court endeavoured to conceal his death till his son prince Ahmed should arrive. He accordingly, upon the 7th day after his father's decease, entered Delhi, being sent for by express from Ghazi ul dien, who was supposed by the ignorant vulgar, always ready to ascribe sudden deaths Death of the emperor.

A. D. 1747. deaths to violence, to have made away with the emperor.

His character. MAHOMMED was remarkably comely; of a stately stature and affable deportment. He was no small proficient in the learning of his country; and he wrote the Arabic and Persian languages with the greatest elegance and propriety. He was personally brave; but the easiness and equality of his temper made his actions appear undecisive and irresolute. Good natured to a fault, he forgave, in others, crimes which his own soul would abhor to commit; and thus he permitted his authority to become a victim to an ill-judged clemency. Naturally indolent and diffident of his own abilities, his mind perpetually fluctuated from one object to another. His passions therefore took no determined course of their own; but were easily diverted into any channel, by whatever person was near him.—"The soul of Mahommed," said a Mogul, who knew him well, "was like the waters of a lake, "easily agitated by any storm, but which settle "immediately after the winds are laid." If his easiness or irresolution in politicks led him into many errors, he bore with indifference, if not with fortitude, the misfortunes which were their natural consequence.

Born in the sunshine of a court, brought up in the bosom of luxury, confined within the walls of a zennana, and, in a manner, educated among eunuchs, as effeminate as those whom they guard, we are not to wonder that the princes of the East should degenerate in a few generations. If to these obstructions to the exertion of the manly faculties of the soul, we add the natural lenity of Mahommed, an amiable but unfortunate virtue in the race of Timur, it ought not to surprize us, that in a country like India, his reign should be crowded with uncommon misfor-

tunes. Had his fate placed Mahommed in Europe, where established laws supply the want of parts in a monarch, he might have slumbered with reputation upon a throne; and left behind him the character of a good, though not of a great, prince. A.D. 1747.

AHMED.

A.D. 1747.

Ahmed mounts the throne.

UPON the 17th of the second Ribbi, in the year 1160 of the Higera, which answers to the year 1747 of the Christian æra, AHMED SHAW, the son of Mahommed, mounted the throne of Delhi. The first act of this reign, was the appointment of Seifdar Jung, the irresolute suba of Oud, to the vizarit. This fellow was originally a merchant of Persia, known there by the name of Abul Munsur. He travelled to India to sell his commodities; and was retained there as an accomptant by the famous Sadit, governor of Oud. He behaved so much to his master's satisfaction in that station, that he advanced him to a command in the army, and conferred upon him his daughter in marriage. His alliance with Sadit so much raised his interest at the court of Delhi, that, upon the death of his father-in-law, he was raised to the subaship of Oud. Though he was a very bad soldier, such was the smoothness of his tongue, and plausibility of behaviour, that he passed upon the weak as a man of considerable parts; which, together with some knowledge in the finances, paved his way to the high office of vizier. Ghazi ul dien continued paymaster and captain-general, and no other material changes in the administration happened upon the accession of Ahmed.

The

The war with Abdalla, which was now carried on in Punjaab by Munnu with various success, ingrossed the attention of the court of Delhi; for the greatest part of the imperial army was employed in that service. Advices, in the mean time, arrived from the Decan, of the death of the famous Nizam ul Muluck, in the one hundred and fourth year of his age; and that his second son, Nasir Jung, acceded to the government. It may not, perhaps, be out of place here, to give a short sketch of the character of the Nizam, who for a long time made so great a figure in India. A.D. 1747. Affairs of the provinces, and death of the Nizam.

The Nizam, though no great warrior, was reckoned a consummate politician, in a country where low craft and deceit, without any principles of honour and integrity, obtain the appellation of great parts. The dark designs of his mind lay always concealed behind an uncommon plausibility and eloquence of tongue. His passions were so much under his command, that he was never known to discover any violent emotion, even upon the most critical and dangerous occasions: but this apathy did not arise from fortitude, but from deep dissimulation and design. It was with him an unalterable maxim, to use stratagem rather than force; and to bring about with private treachery, what even could be accomplished with open force. He so habituated himself to villany, that the whole current of his soul ran in that channel; and it was even doubtful whether he could for a moment divert it to honesty, to bring about his most favoured designs. If the Nizam shewed any tendency to virtue, it was by substituting a lesser wickedness for a greater. When fraud and circumvention could accomplish his purpose, he never used the dagger or bowl. To sum up his character in a few words; His character.

 without

A.D. 1748. without shame, he was perfidious to all mankind; without remorse, a traitor to his king and country; and, without terror, a hypocrite in the presence of his God *.

Succeeded by Nasir Jung.

When the news of the Nizam's death came to Delhi, Ghazi ul dien, who was his eldest son, applied to the king for his government. But Nasir Jung, being possessed of his father's treasure, raised a great army, and marched from Aurungabad towards Delhi; not on pretence of war, but to pay his respects to the emperor. Ahmed dreaded nothing more than this ceremonious visit from a man at the head of so great a force. He judged that Nasir Jung, under that specious pretext, covered a design to extort from him a confirmation of the subadary of the Decan. He therefore durst not favour the pretensions of Ghazi to the provinces of the Decan, and consequently was reduced to the necessity of confirming Nasir Jung in his usurpation. Thus the storm was diverted, and the new Nizam returned to Aurungabad.

Affairs of the provinces.

In the year 1161, Caim Chan Bunguish, who possessed Ferochabad, in Jagier, having differed with Ali, a neighbouring zemindar, they both drew out their vassals and dependants, and fought about twenty miles above Ferochabad, and Caim Chan was defeated and slain. Seifdar Jung, the vizier, being informed of these transactions, sent orders to the Indian prince, Neval Roy, his deputy in the province of Oud, to confiscate the estate of Caim Chan. The deputy rigorously executed the vizier's orders. He seized upon

* Nasir Jung, the Nizam's son, having rebelled, was at the head of a great army. The deceitful old man counterfeited sickness so well, and wrote such pathetic letters to Nasir, requesting to see him before he died, that the young fellow was taken in the snare, visited his father, and was imprisoned.

upon Caim Chan's five sons, together with five of his adopted slaves, confined and afterwards assassinated them at Allahabad. Ahmed Chan, another son of Caim Chan, remained still alive; and, in order to revenge the death of his brothers, raised the Pattan tribe, of which he was now acknowledged chief, and marched against Nevil Roy, who had collected all his forces to oppose him. A.D. 1749.

In the beginning of the year 1162, the two armies met at a place near Lucknow, called Callinuddi. The Pattans were scarcely four thousand strong; but the army of the deputy of Oud consisted of at least twenty thousand. The Pattan chief, inspired with revenge, and vigorously supported by his friends, attacked in person Nevil Roy in the very centre of his army, and slew his enemy with his own hand. The army of Nevil Roy seeing him fall, immediately quitted the field. Their artillery and baggage, and soon after almost the whole province of Oud, fell into the victor's hands. Imperial army defeated.

When the news of this disaster arrived at Delhi, Seifdar Jung, the vizier, talked in a very high strain, and requested of the emperor, that he might be permitted to lead an army against Ahmed Chan. The sultan consented; but the season being far spent before the army was levied, the expedition was deferred till the solstitial rains should be over. In the month of Mohirrim 1163, the vizier, with an army of eighty thousand men, marched from Delhi; and, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, put all the Pattans he could find to the sword. Ahmed Chan was not intimidated by this great force. With scarce twelve thousand men he marched from Ferochabad, and met the imperialists at Shuru Sahawir, near that city. Expedition of the vizier.

 The

A.D. 1749.

He is overthrown.

The day happened to be very windy, and Ahmed improved that circumstance to his own advantage. He wheeled to windward, and the dust flew in such clouds in the face of the imperial army, that they did not discover the motions of Ahmed; but ascribed the darkness which involved themselves to the effects of a whirlwind, common at that season of the year. The enemy, however, like a thunderbolt, issued from the bosom of this storm, and at once struck the Moguls with terror and dismay. The Pattans made such good use of their swords, that they soon covered the field with dead, and the cowardly Seifdar Jung, without making one effort, was the first of his army who fled. The Jates and Rohillas, though thus shamefully deserted by their general, made head against Ahmed, and found means to carry off the greatest part of the artillery, which consisted of twelve hundred pieces of various bores. But neither of those tribes returned the guns to the king: they carried them to their own forts, to strengthen themselves against his authority.

A dreadful stroke to the empire.

This overthrow was a dreadful stroke to the tottering empire. The greatest part of the province of Oud was lost; the Jates, a numerous tribe of Hindoos, who possessed a large territory near Agra; and the Rohillas, a Pattan nation, who inhabited the greatest part of the country between Delhi and Lucknow, seeing the whole imperial force baffled by a petty chief, began to throw off their allegiance, Seifdar Jung, in the mean time, arrived with a small part of his army at Delhi; and Ghazi advised the king to put him to death for the disgrace which he had drawn upon his arms. This punishment would not have been too severe for the vizier's bad behaviour; but that minister had strengthened his interest

terest by a coalition with Junéid Chan, the chief eunuch. A. D. 1750.

The queen-mother, Begum Kudsia, being a woman of gallantry, had, for want of a better lover, fixed her affection upon the chief eunuch. She had the address to direct the weak monarch in every thing, and to keep him in leading-strings upon the throne. Juneid Chan, though in no public employ, by means of Kudsia's favour, held the helm of government; and, by his influence, not only saved the vizier's life, but continued him in his office. Interest of the queen-mother saves the vizier.

In the course of the same year, a treaty was concluded with the Mahrattors, who were spreading their devastations over the southern provinces. The Chout was stipulated to be regularly paid by the empire to those troublesome barbarians. The emperor ordered an army to be levied, to recover the province of Oud; and it was soon completed by the accession of forty thousand Mahrattors, who enlisted themselves in the imperial service. But instead of putting himself at the head of his forces, the weak emperor, by the advice of his mother and her gallant, gave the command of it to his vizier, that he might have an opportunity to retrieve his lost honour. Tribute paid to the Mahrattors.

Sourage Mull, prince of the Jates, by the acquisition of the Mahrattors to the imperial army, judged it prudent, once more, to join the vizier with all his forces; so that the minister's army now consisted of no less than one hundred thousand men. Seifdar Jung marched from Delhi in the year 1164, against Ahmed Chan; but the raja of the Jates, instead of aiding him, found means to frustrate all his designs. Having spent a whole campaign without coming to action, he patched up a very dishonourable peace, and returned to Delhi with the Mahrattor mercenaries Inactivity of the vizier.

A.D. 1750. ries at his heels, mutinous for want of their pay.

The Nizam's eldest son pays the arrears of the Mahrattors.

The demand of the Mahrattors amounted to fifty lacks of rupees, which the government was in no condition to pay; and the sum gradually increased with the delay. Ghazi ul dien, who had been for some time soliciting for a royal commission for the subaship of the Decan, promised to pay off the Mahrattor debt, upon condition he should receive from the emperor that appointment. Ahmed was glad upon any terms to get rid of those clamorous and dangerous mercenaries, and accordingly issued out the imperial sunnuds to Ghazi. That omrah having satisfied the Mahrattors in their demands upon Ahmed, engaged them immediately in his own service; and having added to them a great army of other troops, obtained his own office of captain-general for his son Ghazi, a youth of fifteen years of age, and marched towards the Decan.

Sillabut Jung poisons Ghazi.

The elder Ghazi's brother, Nasir Jung, suba of the Decan, and his son Muziffer, who had succeeded him in the government, were both dead. Sillabut Jung, the third son of the old Nizam, now sat upon the Musnud, which Ghazi claimed by the right of primogeniture. In the month of Zehidge 1165, he, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, arrived in the environs of Aurungabad. The forces of his brother, Sillabut Jung, the reigning suba, were somewhat inferior in number, but they were strengthened by a body of French mercenaries, which, in all probability, would ensure to him the victory. Sillabut Jung, however, was afraid of the issue of a general battle; and, after some slight skirmishes, he found means to prevail with his uncle's wife to take off his competitor with poison. Thus did the perfidious Sillabut Jung

secure

secure to himself the empire of the Decan, without a rival. A. D. 1752.

Affairs at court.

But to return to the transactions of the court of Delhi: Seifdar Jung, the vizier, finding that his own influence declined, and that Junied Chan, the favourite eunuch, carried all before him, invited him to an entertainment, and, contrary to the laws of hospitality, and altogether forgetful that he owed to Junied his own life and fortune, assassinated him by the hands of Ismaiel, one of his adopted slaves. The emperor, being informed of this presumptuous villany, flew into a violent rage, degraded Seifdar Jung from the vizarit, and banished him the court. This was the effect of a fit of passion; for the unfortunate monarch was in no condition, in fact, to exert so far his authority. The perfidious vizier, finding that he had nothing to hope from submission, broke out into open rebellion. He soon after, by the assistance of the Jates, advanced to Delhi, and besieged the emperor and young Ghazi, his captain-general, in that city.

A new vizier.

The son of Kimmir ul dien, who, in the reign of Mahommed, held so long the vizarit, was raised under the title of Chan Chanan, or first of the nobles, to the vacant employ of Seifdar Jung, and began to show some abilities in his new office. Young Ghazi, who was a youth of extraordinary parts, defended the city with great resolution for three months. The rebels were at last so dispirited, that Ghazi ventured to attack them in the field, and gained a complete victory. Seifdar Jung fled towards his former subaship of Oud, and left his allies, the Jates, under their prince, Sourage Mull, to extricate themselves from the perilous situation to which he had brought them,

The

A. D. 1752.

The old viziers rebellion.

The rebellion of Seifdar Jung happened in the year 1166. The Jates being deserted by him, were in no condition to keep the field against Ghazi. They fled before the imperial army under Akebut Mahmood, to their own territories near Agra. That general invested the strong fortress of Billemgur, which he took by capitulation; but so little did he regard his plighted faith to the garrison, that he put them all to the sword. The Jates, in the mean time, came before the imperial army; but diffident of their own strength in the field, they separated their forces, and shut themselves up in their forts. The imperial general also divided his army into detachments, and laid at once siege to the two strong forts of Dieg and Combere, lying in the territory between Agra and Delhi.

Young Ghazi attacks the Jates.

Ghazi, in the mean time, to carry on more effectually the war against the Jates, obtained permission from the emperor, to call in forty thousand Mahrattors, under their two chiefs, Malhar Raw, and Ragunut Raw. By this acquisition of strength, the imperialists were enabled to carry on the sieges with vigour. At Delhi, young Ghazi and the new vizier contended for the command of the army. This contest was afterwards fatal in its consequences; but for the present Ghazi prevailed. He marched with a reinforcement from Delhi; and upon his arrival in the country of the Jates, took the command of the imperial army.

Affairs at court.

The sieges continued two months after the arrival of Ghazi, and the garrisons were reduced to the last extremities. The imperialists, in the mean time, had expended all their ammunition; and Ghazi was, upon that account, obliged to dispatch Akebut Mahmood to Delhi, with a good force, to bring him the necessary stores. The vizier seeing that the strong holds of the Jates

must

must soon fall into the hands of Ghazi, should he be supplied with ammunition, and being extremely zealous of any thing that might throw honour upon his rival, poisoned the mind of the weak king against his captain-general, by means of forged letters, and villainous insinuations, that the young omrah aspired to the throne. The enterprizing genius and great abilities of Ghazi, gave some colour to suspicions of that kind; and the unfortunate Ahmed, instead of promoting his own cause against the Jates, took every measure to prevent the success of Ghazi. A. D. 1752.

The emperor levies forces against Ghazi.

The king accordingly began to levy forces in Delhi, and wrote a letter to Sourage Mull, the chief of the Jates, to make an obstinate defence, and that he himself would soon relieve him: that under pretence of joining the army under Ghazi, he would attack that general in the rear, and at the same time display a signal to the Indian prince, to sally from the fort of Combere.—Thus the king, as if infatuated by his evil genius, planned his own ruin. His letter fell into the hands of Ghazi, whose friends at court had informed him of the intrigues of the vizier. Struck with the king's ingratitude, and urged on by self-defence, he immediately resolved upon open hostility. He raised the sieges, and crossed the Jumna, to oppose Ahmed and his vizier, who were marching down between the rivers.

Who marches against him.

The king, hearing of Ghazi's approach, halted at Secundra, and endeavoured, by fair promises, to bring back that omrah to his duty. Ghazi, in answer to the king's message, returned to him his own letter to Sourage Mull. He wrote him, at the same time, "that he could place no "confidence in a man who plotted against his "life for no crime; if to serve the state was "not one. What mercy," continued Ghazi, "can I expect from Ahmed, in the days of re-

 "bellion,

A.D. 1573. "bellion, when he treated me as a traitor, in "the times of loyalty and friendship? A prince, "that is weak enough to listen to the base insinuations of every sycophant, is unworthy to "rule over brave men; who, by the laws of "God and nature, are justified to use the power "which Providence has placed in their hands to "protect themselves from injustice."

Emperor's flight, and deposition. The king perceived, by the strain of this letter, that Ghazi was resolved to push him to the last extremity. He, however, durst not engage him in the field. He made the best of his way to Delhi, and was so closely pursued by Ghazi, that that omrah possessed himself of one of the gates; upon which Ahmed and the vizier shut themselves up, with a small party, in the citadel. Ghazi immediately invested the place; and the king, after a faint resistance, surrendered himself. Ghazi, after reproaching him for his intentions against his life, committed him and the vizier to the charge of Akebut Mahmood. The unfortunate sultan was deprived of sight, the next day, by the means of an hot iron. It is said, by some, that this was done by Akebut Mahmood, without orders, to shew his zeal for the service of his patron; but, from the general character of Ghazi, we have no reason to doubt his being concerned in the crime.

His character. Thus ended the reign of the unfortunate Ahmed Shaw; a prince, who, in his first exploits, appeared with some lustre. When he mounted the throne, as if action degraded royalty, he altogether gave himself up to indolence. To save the trouble of thinking, he became the dupe of every specious flatterer, and at last fell the unlamented victim of his own folly. He possessed all the clemency of the house of Timur; but that virtue was now, in some measure, a vice, in a country so corrupt, and in an age so degenerate.

rate. Though Ahmed was not defective in personal courage, he may truly be said to be a coward in mind; dangers appeared formidable to him, through a troubled imagination, which, upon trial, he had fortitude to surmount—He sat upon the throne of Delhi seven lunar years and one month; and was deposed in the month of Jammad ul awil, in the 1167 of the Higera. A.D. 1754

Decayed state of the empire.

The power and extent of the empire were very much diminished in the reign of Ahmed. All the provinces, except those between the frontiers of the Jates, a few miles to the east of Delhi, and Lahore to the west, were, in fact, dismembered from the government of the house of Timur, though they paid a nominal allegiance. The rich kingdom of Guzerat was divided between the Mahrattors and a Pattan tribe, called Babbé: the Decan was usurped by the Nizam ul muluck's family; Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, by Aliverdi Chan, and his successors; Oud, by SeifdarJung; Doab, by Ahmed Chan Bunguish; Allahabad, by Mahommed Kuli; and the countries round Agra, by Raja Sourage Mull, the chief of the Jates.—Budaoon, and all the provinces to the north of Delhi, were in the hands of Mahommed Ali, Sadulla Chan, and other chiefs of the Rohilla tribe of Pattans. A number of petty rajas started up into independent princes in Malava: Bucht Singh seized upon the extensive territory of Marwâr, and Madoo Singh reigned in the provinces round Joinagur and Amere.

The gallant Munnu still opposed the torrent of invasion from the north. He maintained the war with success against Abdalla, for the provinces on the banks of the Indus, and, for a short space of time, supported the declining empire. Every petty chief, in the mean time, by counterfeited

A.D. 1753. counterfeited grants from Delhi, laid claim to jagiers and to districts: the country was torn to pieces with civil wars, and groaned under every species of domestic confusion. Villany was practised in every form; all law and religion were trodden under foot; the bonds of private friendships and connections, as well as of society and government, were broken; and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm.

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ALLUMGIRE II.

Upon the same day that Ahmed Shaw was deprived of sight, Ghazi ul dien released from confinement Eaz ul dien, the son of Moaz ul dien, and grandson of Bahadur Shaw, the son and successor of the famous Aurungzebe. This prince was placed by Ghazi upon the throne by the name of Allumgire. To begin his reign with an act of beneficence, he ordered seventeen persons of the imperial house of Timur to be released from prison, to grace his coronation. It may not be improper here to say something concerning the inauguration of the Mogul emperors. A. D. 1753. Allumgire mounts the throne.

When a prince is, for the first time, seated upon the throne, with the royal umbrella over his head, the omrahs, according to their dignity, are ranged in two lines before, one upon his right, the other to his left hand. A herald then proclaims his titles; and the omrahs, each in his station, advance with an offering in gold, which he himself receives from their hands. The superintendant of the kitchen brings then a golden salver, with bread, confections, and other eatables, over which the king, joined by the whole court, repeats a form of grace; and then he eats a little, and distributes the remainder, with his own hand, among the nobility. This latter is an ancient Mogul ceremony, introduced by the family of Timur. The emperor mounts then, his state-elephant, and, attended by all the court, Ceremony of coronation.

A.D. 1753. court, moves slowly towards the great musgid, throwing, as he advances, gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, among the populace. In the musgid he repeats a prayer, and afterwards divine service is performed by the sidder ul sudûr, or the metropolitan of Delhi. The Chutba, or the genealogy and titles of the king, is then read, and he returns to the palace with the same magnificence and pomp. The Mogul emperors are never crowned: but upon some festivals they sit in state, under a large golden crown, which is suspended by a chain to the roof of the presence-chamber, and serves the purpose of a canopy.

Wretched state of the emperor.

Allumgire found himself as much a prisoner upon the throne, as he was formerly in his confinement. He was not a man of parts sufficient to extricate himself from the toils of that power to which he owed his advancement; but had he made no efforts to acquire some authority, the empire might have been, perhaps, restored to its original dignity and splendour, by the very extraordinary abilities of Ghazi ul dien.—That omrah now possessed the office of the vizarit. Allumgire, without the capacity of guiding the operations of government himself, began to turn all his mean parts to thwart the schemes of the minister. Without considering whether the measure was right or wrong, it was sufficient that it came from the vizier, for the emperor to oppose it by his minions.

Inactivity at court.

This aversion in the king to Ghazi, did not long escape the penetrating eye of that young omrah. He knew that he was surrounded by many enemies, and therefore was unwilling to resign an employ, from which he derived protection to his own person. In the mean time all business was suspended, and the two factions, like armies afraid of the issue of a battle, watched the motions of one

one another.—Nothing remarkable happened at Delhi, during the first year of Allumgire, but the assassination of the former vizier, about six months after his imprisonment, by the orders of Ghazi. A.D. 1754.

But, in the course of this year, the empire received a severe blow on its frontiers, by the death of the gallant Munnu, by a fall from his horse. He had, in many engagements, defeated Abdalla, and recovered from him the whole province of Lahore. No sooner was this brave omrah dead, than Abdalla re-conquered all he had lost; and advancing to Lahore, confirmed his son, then an infant, in the government of that place, under the tuition of an experienced omrah. Death of Munnu.

The great success of Abdalla, in the north-west, began to rouse the court of Delhi. It was at last resolved, that Ali Gohar*, Allumgire's eldest son, should, in conjunction with Ghazi ul dien, the vizier, march with the imperial army against the Persians. The treasury was now empty; and the few provinces, subject to the empire, were grievously oppressed for money to raise a force for this expedition. In the beginning of the year 1169, the imperial army, consisting of 80,000 men, under the prince and young Ghazi, took the field. They advanced to a place called Matchiwarra, about twenty crores beyond Sirhind. They found Abdalla so well established in his new conquests, that they thought it prudent to proceed no further. The whole campaign passed in settling a treaty of marriage, between the vizier and the daughter of Munnu. It The prince royal sent against Abdalla.

* The present emperor.

A.D. 1755. It seems that omrah, to strengthen his interest at the court of Delhi, had, before his death, promised his daughter to Ghazi; but, after that event, both the young lady and her mother were extremely averse to the match. When the imperial army lay at Matchiwarra, the vizier inveigled both the ladies from Lahore to the camp, and finding all entreaty was in vain to obtain their consent, he, with peculiar baseness, closely confined them, to intimidate them into a compliance. This, together with oppressing the provinces through which he marched, comprehended the whole exploits of Ghazi on this expedition. After spending all the public money in this vain parade, the prince and vizier, without striking a blow, returned to Delhi.

Cause of the inaction of the imperial army.

The cause of this inaction of the vizier, proceeded from advices which he daily received from court. The king and his faction gained strength during his absence; and he foresaw his own ruin, in case he should meet with a defeat from Abdalla. Upon his return to Delhi, he found it necessary, in order to support his declining authority, to act with great rigour and tyranny. Some omrahs he removed with the dagger, and others he deprived of their estates. He confined the king in the citadel, and did whatsoever he pleased, as if he himself was vested with the regal dignity.

Emperor applies to Abdalla.

Allumgire, finding himself in this disagreeable situation, adopted a very dangerous plan to extricate himself. He wrote privately to Abdalla, to advance with his army, to relieve him from the hands of his treacherous vizier. He promised, that upon his arrival in the environs of Delhi, he should be joined by the bulk of the imperial army, under the command of Nigib

ul

ul Dowla, a Rohilla chief, to whom Ghazi had delegated his own office of buckshi, when he rose to the employ of vizier. Thus the weak Allumgire, to avoid one evil, plunged headlong into greater misfortunes. A.D. 1757.

Abdalla, having received these assurances from the king, marched from Cabul, where he then kept his court, entered Hindostan with a great army, and, in the year 1171, appeared before Delhi. The vizier marched out with the imperial forces to give him battle; but, in the field, he was deserted by his friend, Nigib ul Dowla, with the greatest part of his army. The ignorance of Ghazi of a plot so long carried on, is a great proof of his extreme unpopularity. The consequence was, that he was obliged to throw himself upon the clemency of Abdalla, who had sworn vengeance against him, should he ever fall into his hands. But such was the address of the vizier, that he not only found means to mollify the Persian, but even to make him his friend. He was, however, at first turned out of his office but he was soon after restored by Abdalla himself, who now disposed of every thing, as if he was absolute king of Delhi. who marches to Delhi.

Abdalla entered the city, and laid the unfortunate inhabitants under a contribution of a crore of rupees; a sum now more difficult to raise than ten crores in the days of Nadir Shaw. The Persian remained two months in Delhi. The unhappy Allumgire, not only found that his capital was robbed, but that he himself was delivered over again into the hands of a person, who had now added resentment to ambition and power. The Persian, after these transactions, took the prince, Haded Buxsh, brother to the present emperor, as a hostage for Allumgire's future Lays the city under contributions.

A.D. 1757. future behaviour; and having forced Munnu's daughter to solemnize her marriage with Ghazi, marched towards Agra. He, on his way, laid siege to Muttra, took it by assault, and, having sacked the place, put the inhabitants to the sword, for the enormous crime of attempting to defend their lives and property. After this scene of barbarity, Abdalla advanced to Agra, which was held on the part of the king* by Fazil Chan. This omrah defended the city with such resolution, that Abdalla, after sustaining some loss, thought it prudent to raise the siege; but, being exasperated at this repulse, he spread death and devastation through the territories of the Jates, who, unable to cope with him in the field, had retired into their strong holds; from which they at times issued, and cut off his straggling parties.

The emperor's folly. The Persian returned to a place called Muxadabad, about eight crores from Delhi. Allumgire came out to pay his respects to him, and, by his conduct, seems to have been perfectly infatuated. When the cries of his distressed people reached heaven, that contemptible monarch, instead of endeavouring to alleviate their miseries, either by force or negociation, was wholly bent on the gratification of a sensual appetite. The cause of his visit to Abdalla, was to obtain his influence and mediation with Sahibe Zimany, the daughter of the emperor Mahommed, whom he wanted to espouse, the princess herself being averse

* Though the Jates had all the country round Agra, they had not yet possessed themselves of that city.

averse to the match. When kings, instead of exerting their talents for the protection of their people, suffer themselves to be absorbed in indolence and sensuality, rebellion becomes patriotism, and treason itself is a virtue. A. D. 1758.

In the mean time the news of some incursions from the Western Persia, into the territories of Abdalla, recalled that prince from India. Malleké Jehan, the widow of Mahommed, and her daughter Sahibe Zimany, claimed his protection against Allumgire. He carried them both to Cabul, and some time after espoused the daughter himself.—The Persian having evacuated the imperial provinces, the vizier became more cruel and oppressive than ever: he extorted money from the poor by tortures, and confiscated the estates of the nobility upon false or very frivolous pretences. To these tyrannies he was no less driven by the necessity of supporting an army to reinforce his authority, than he was by the natural avidity and cruelty of his own unprincipled mind. Abdalla returns.

The king and his eldest son, Ali Gohar, were, in the mean time, kept state prisoners. The latter made his escape in the year 1172, and levying six thousand men at Rowari, began to raise the revenues of the adjacent territories. After he had continued this vagrant kind of life for nine months, the vizier, by the means of insidious letters, in which Ittul Raw, chief of the Mahrattors, Raja Dewali Singh, Raja Nagor Mull, and many other omrahs, swore to protect him, inveigled him to Delhi. But in violation of all oaths and fair promises, he was instantly confined by Ghazi, in the house of Alla Murda, where he remained for the space of two months. Affairs at court.

A.D. 1758.

The prince confined by the vizier.

The vizier having received intelligence that the prince was privately attaching some omrahs to his interest, and fearing that, by their means, he might again make his escape, determined to remove him to the citadel. He ordered a detachment of five hundred horse to execute this service. The prince not only refused to comply with the vizier's orders for his removal, but ordered the gates of the house to be shut, and, with a few friends, betook himself to arms. The houses of the nobility in Hindostan are surrounded with strong walls; and, in fact, are a kind of small forts. The vizier's troops found it therefore extremely difficult to reduce the prince. He was besieged closely for two days; and, finding that he could not defend himself much longer from the thousands that surrounded the house, he formed the gallant resolution to cut his way through the enemy.

His gallant behaviour.

He imparted his intentions to his friends, but they shrunk from his proposal as impracticable. At last, six of them, seeing him resolved to attempt this desperate undertaking alone, promised to accompany him. On the morning of the third day, they mounted their horses within the court. The gate was suddenly thrown open, and they issued forth sword in hand, with the prince at their head. He cut his way through thousands of Ghazi's troops, with only the loss of one of his gallant followers. Raja Ramnat, and Seid Ali, were the two principal men concerned in this extraordinary exploit; the other four being common horsemen. Seid Ali was wounded, but four and the prince escaped without any hurt.

Makes his escape.

The prince having thus forced his way through the vizier's army, issued out of the city, and arrived at a place called Vizierabad, about

about six crores from the suburbs. Ittul Raw, the Mahrattor chief, lay encamped with ten thousand horse at Vizierabad. Ittul had been hired as a mercenary by the vizier, to support him in his tyrannical proceedings: but resenting Ghazi's breach of promise to the prince, and not being regularly paid, he now thought of plundering the country under the sanction of Ali Gohar's name. He received him, therefore, with very great respect, and promised to support him. A.D. 1758.

Is joined by a body of Mahrattors.

The prince and Ittul Raw accordingly continued, for the space of six months, to raise contributions on the provinces to the south of Delhi: but as the petty chiefs of villages had, during the confusions of the empire, constructed mud forts, whither they retired with their families and effects, at the approach of danger, the Mahrattors found great difficulty in supporting themselves, as none of those forts could be reduced without a regular siege, in which they were very little skilled. Ittul Raw, tired of this kind of unprofitable war, proposed to the prince to retire to Gualier, where the Mahrattors had now established a government, promising to give him a tract of country for his maintenance. Ali Gohar thanked the Mahrattor for his generous proposal, but declined to accept of it.

Nigib ul Dowla.

His eyes were now turned to another quarter. Nigib ul Dowla, who had, at the king's request, betrayed Ghazi ul dien to Abdalla, was, upon the reinstatement of the vizier in his office, obliged to fly to his jagier of Secundra, between the rivers, about forty crores below Delhi. The prince looked upon him as the most proper person to conduct his affairs. He accordingly took leave of Ittul Raw, crossed the Jumna,

 arrived

A. D. 1759. arrived at Secundra, and was received with great respect by Nigib ul Dowla, who, however, did not think proper to join heartily in his cause.

Abdalla marches again to Delhi.

To return to the transactions at Delhi: Abdalla had no sooner settled his affairs, than he prepared for another expedition into Hindostan. He resolved to support his army with the plunder of that country, and to keep them in action there, for other enterprizes more arduous. He accordingly marched from Candahar, and, in the month of Ribbi ul awil 1174, arrived in the environs of Delhi. The unhappy Allumgire applied to him for relief; and, if possible, exaggerated his own misfortunes, and the unheard-of villanies of his vizier. He, at the same time, by his emissaries, stirred up factions in the army of Ghazi, who had marched out of the city to give battle to Abdalla. The discerning mind of that minister soon penetrated into the king's machinations against him. He did not for a moment hesitate what to do; his hands had already been imbrued in blood, and he started not at murder. He resolved to take off the king, and then to let future events direct his line of action.

Designs of the vizier.

Though the king was in some measure a prisoner, he was permitted to keep his guards and a great retinue of servants. They pitied his misfortunes, and became firmly attached to his interest. Abdalla, who was near with his army, seemed to give some encouragement to Allumgire, and that prince's party acquired strength every day. The vizier saw himself hemmed in upon all sides by enemies; he therefore thought it high time to assassinate his master.—He knew the weakness and superstition of the mind of Allumgire.

Allumgire. He, therefore, trumped up a story concerning a fakier, who prophesied and wrought miracles at the Kottulah of Ferose III. The poor enthusiastic king, just as Ghazi expected, expressed a great desire to see the holy fakier. As it would derogate from the reputation of the pretended saint, to pay a visit, even to a king, Allumgire resolved to confer upon him that piece of respect.—But he had no sooner entered the apartment where the holy impostor sat, than two assassins started from behind a curtain, cut off his head with a scimitar, and threw his body out of a back window upon the sands of the Jumna. It lay there two days without interment; none daring to pay the last office to the remains of their unfortunate king. This tragedy was acted at Delhi in the month of the second Ribbi 1174.

A.D. 1760.

Emperor murdered.

Such was the end of Allumgire, who, in an age of peace and tranquillity, might have lived with some reputation, and have died with the character of a saint. But the times required uncommon abilities in a king, and the most vigorous exertion of the manly faculties of the soul; neither of which that unhappy monarch in any degree possessed. His struggles, therefore, against the ambition of Ghazi, were puerile and impotent. Had he employed the assassin against the breast of that treacherous minister, justice would have warranted the blow; had he possessed courage to have aimed it with his own hand, a thousand opportunities were not wanting. What then can be said in favour of a man who durst not make one manly effort for his authority, or resent indignities which he daily received in person?

His character.

The perfidious vizier ordered the body of the king, after lying two days exposed on the sand of

A.D. 1760. of the Jumna, to be privately interred. He then took another prince of the blood, and placed him upon the throne, by the name of Shaw Jehan.

Shaw Allum, Emperor of Hindostan.

SHAW ALLUM.

A.D. 1761. Transactions at Delhi.

NIGIB UL DOWLA, who had, some time before the assassination of Allumgire, made up matters with the vizier, had the address to retain the office of buckshi. Shocked at the villany of Ghazi, or desirous to transfer to himself the whole power, he again betrayed that minister, and went over with all his forces to Abdalla. Ghazi, in consequence of this desertion, found himself obliged also to make peace with the invader.

Misfortunes of that city.

These factions proved fatal to the unhappy Delhians. Abdalla laid the city under heavy contributions, and enforced the collection with such rigour and cruelty, that the unfortunate inhabitants, driven to despair, took up arms. The Persian ordered a general massacre, which, without intermission, lasted for seven days. The relentless Durannies * were not even then glutted with slaughter, but the stench of the dead bodies drove them out of the city. A great part of the buildings were, at the same time, reduced to ashes, and many thousands, who had escaped the sword, suffered a lingering death by famine, sitting upon the smoaking ruins of their own houses. Thus the imperial city of Delhi, which, in the days of its glory, extended

* The tribe, of which Abdalla is chief, are distinguished by that name.

A. D. 1761. extended itself seventeen crores in length, and was said to contain two millions of people, became almost a heap of rubbish.

Invasion by the Mahrattors. The miseries of the unfortunate Delhians were not yet at an end. The Mahrattors, who now, without intermission, traversed the empire for plunder, advanced to partake of the spoils of Delhi with Abdalla. Jincow and Malharraw accordingly occupied the environs of the city. The Persian marched out against them, and both armies joined battle at a place called Mudgenu Tuckia, two crores from the depopulated capital. The Mahrattors were defeated, and pursued one hundred and fifty crores from the field: but they, in the mean time, gave Abdalla the slip, turned his rear, and set out in full march for Delhi. The Durannies, however, were so close to their heels, that, before they could attempt any thing against the city, they were a second time obliged to retreat.

Junction of the Mahommedans. In the mean time news arrived that the Mahrattor chiefs were advancing with another very numerous army from the Decan, with a professed design to re-establish the ancient Hindoo government. Bisswass Raw, Baow, and Ibrahim Chan Ghardi, commanded this force, which, independent of the army of Mahrattors, whom Abdalla had already defeated, consisted of one hundred thousand horse. The Mahommedans were struck with terror; they thought it necessary to join Abdalla, to support the faith; Suja ul Dowlat, who had succeeded his father, the infamous Seifdar Jung, in the province of Oud, Ahmed Chan Bunguish, chief of the Pattans, and all the petty chieftains of the Rohillas, hastened with their forces to Delhi.

Mahrattors attack the Jates. The Mahrattors had now entered the territories of the Jates, and summoned Raja Sourage Mull

Mull to join them. Though Sourage Mull, as a Hindoo, wished for the extirpation of Mahommedism in India, he was too jealous of the power of the Mahrattors to obey their orders. Enraged at his obstinacy, they carried fire and sword through his dominions, and compelled him at last to join them with fifty thousand men. A.D. 1761.

The Mahrattors now consisted of two hundred thousand horse, and the Mahommedans, whom Ahmed Abdalla commanded in chief, of near one hundred and fifty thousand. The eyes of all India were now turned towards the event of a war, upon which depended, whether the supreme power should remain with the Mahommedans, or revert again to the Hindoos. Upon the approach of the Mahrattors, Abdalla evacuated Delhi, and, having crossed the Jumna, encamped on the opposite bank.

The Mahrattors immediately entered the city, and filled every quarter of it with devastation and death. Not content with robbing the miserable remains of Abdalla's cruelty of every thing they possessed, they stripped all the males and females quite naked, and wantonly whipped them before them along the streets. Many now prayed for death, as the greatest blessing, and thanked the hand which inflicted the wound.—Famine began to rage among the unfortunate citizens to such a degree, that men fled from their dearest friends, as from beasts of prey, for fear of being devoured. Many women devoured their own children, while some mothers, of more humanity, were seen dead in the streets, with infants still sucking at their breasts.—But let us now draw a veil over this scene of horror. Delhi pillaged.

Ghazi ul dien found, by this time, that Abdalla was become his enemy, and inclined to the The power of Ghazi declines.

A. D. 1761. the interests of Nigib ul Dowla. He therefore endeavoured to make up matters with the Mahrattors; but his proposals were rejected. He then turned himself to the raja of the Jates, who was in the field an unwilling auxiliary to the Mahrattors, and persuaded him to desert their cause, and retire to his own country, whither he himself accompanied him. Thus ended the public transactions of Ghazi ul dien, who crowded into a few years of early youth more crimes and abilities, than other consummate villains have done into a long life of wickedness and treachery. Though he did not possess the Decan, the fruits of his grandfather's uncommon crimes, he may truly be said to have been the genuine heir of the parts and treasons of that monster of iniquity and villany.

Transactions in Delhi. The Mahrattors, when they entered Delhi, confined Shaw Jehan, who had borne the title of royalty for a few weeks; and, to quiet the minds of some Mahommedan omrahs who aided them, raised to the throne Jewan Bucht, the eldest son of prince Ali Gohar, who had by this time assumed the title of Shaw Allum in Behar. But this young prince, had he even abilities to reign, had now no subjects left to command; for he may be considered as the image of a king, set up by way of insult in the midst of the ruins of his capital.

Abdalla's conduct. Abdalla being informed of the desertion of the Jates, was extremely desirous of repassing the Jumna, and to come to battle with the Mahrattors. He, for this purpose, marched up along the bank opposite to the enemy, to Kungipurra, a place of some strength, possessed by Nizabat Chan, an independent Rohilla chief. The Persian summoned him to surrender, which he refused, and the place was consequently taken by assault, and the garrison and inhabitants put to the

the sword.—The Mahrattors, at the same time, marched up upon the side of Delhi, and, too confident of their own strength, permitted Abdalla, without opposition, to cross the Jumna, by the ford of Ramra: but observing him more bold in his motions than they expected, they became somewhat afraid, and entrenched themselves at Karnâl, in the very same ground which was occupied formerly by Mahommed, while Abdalla chose the more fortunate situation of Nadir Shaw.

A.D. 1761.

Comes to action with and defeats the Mahrattors.

Both armies lay in their entrenchments for twelve days, skirmishing at times with small parties. Abdalla, in the mean time, found means to cut off some Mahrattor convoys, with provisions, and, by the vigilance and activity of his Durannies, to prevent all supplies from coming to the enemy's camp.—As famine began to rage among the Mahrattors, they were necessitated to march out of their lines, upon the 20th of the second Jemmad 1174, and to offer battle to Abdalla, which he immediately accepted. The first shock was extremely violent: the Mahrattors advanced with great resolution, and charged Abdalla sword in hand with such vigour, that he was upon the point of being driven off the field, when Suja ul Dowlat, well known to the British in India, and Ahmed Chan Bunguish, the Pattan chief of Doab, fell upon the flank of the Mahrattors with ten thousand horse.—This circumstance immediately turned the scale of victory. Abdalla recovered from his confusion, renewed the charge, and drove back the enemy. Should we credit common report, fifty thousand Mahrattors fell in this action, and in the pursuit: but be that as it will, the battle was extremely bloody, for all the generals of the vanquished, except Malhar Raw, who fled upon the first charge, were slain.

4 Abdalla,

A. D. 1761.

Writes to the prince Ali Gohar.

Abdalla, after having pursued the Mahrattors for the space of three days, returned to Delhi. He wrote from thence letters to prince Ali Gohar, who had proclaimed himself king in the province of Behar, under the title of Shaw Allum, requesting him to return to Delhi, and to take upon him the management of the affairs of government. Shaw Allum was too prudent to trust himself in the hands of Abdalla, and therefore, that prince, whose affairs on the side of Persia required his presence, confirmed Jewan Bucht * upon the throne of Delhi, under the tuition of Nigib ul Dowla, from whom he exacted an annual tribute. Abdalla, after these transactions, returned to Cabul.

Evacuates Delhi.

No sooner had Abdalla evacuated Delhi, than the Jates commenced hostilities against Nigib ul Dowla. They seized upon Camgar Chan, Zemindar of Ferochagur, and appropriated to themselves his wealth and territory. The minister, upon this, took the field. The Jates advanced against him, with a great army, under the conduct of their chief, Raja Sourage Mull. The Jates being much superior to the force of Nigib ul Dowla, became confident of success; so that, when the armies approached within a few miles of one another, near Secundra, the raja went carelessly out, with some of his officers, upon a hunting party. Nigib ul Dowla being informed of this circumstance by means of his spies, immediately dispatched a party of five hundred horse, under Seidu, a bold partizan, in quest of the raja.

Chief of the Jates cut off.

Seidu fell in with Sourage Mull, whose party consisted of about three hundred. They engaged

* The present emperor's eldest son.

gaged sword in hand, with great resolution on both sides; but, at length, the Jates were cut off to a man, and the raja's head was brought to Nigib ul Dowla, who was then upon his march to attack the enemy. The unexpected appearance of Nigib, in the absence of their prince and best officers, struck the Jates with universal panic; when, at that very instant, a horseman advancing at full speed, threw the raja's head into their line. This circumstance completed their confusion, so that Nigib ul Dowla defeated them with ease, and pursued them, sword in hand, some crores from the field of battle. A. D. 1761.

The minister, after this victory, returned to Delhi. But he had not long remained in that capital, before Joahir Singh, the son and successor of Sourage Mull, hired twenty thousand Mahrattors, under Malhar Raw, and advanced with all his forces to Delhi. Nigib ul Dowla was not capable to cope with the Jates and their auxiliaries in the field. He shut himself up in the city, where he was besieged for three months, and at last reduced to great distress. However, a handsome present to Malhar Raw saved him upon this critical occasion. The Jates, finding themselves betrayed by their mercenaries, were obliged to patch up a peace, and retire into their own country. These transactions happened in the year 1175 of the Higera. Nigib ul Dowla has been since frequently attacked by the Jates to the east, and the Seiks to the west, but he still maintains his ground with great resolution and ability. Nigib ul Dowla's conduct.

But to return to the adventures of the prince Ali Gohar, who, under the title of emperor, now reigns in the small province of Actions of the prince Ali Gohar.

 Allahabad:

A. D. 1762. Allahabad: we have already observed, that he, after parting with the Mahrattors, threw himself upon Nigib ul Dowla at Secundra. He could not, however, prevail upon that omrah to take up arms in his favour. He, therefore, left Secundra, with a small retinue of servants, who lived at their own expence, in hopes of better days, with their prince. With these he arrived at Lucknow, one of the principal cities of the province of Oud, where Suja ul Dowlat kept then his court. Suja ul Dowlat received the king with seeming great respect, and paid him royal honours; but this was only the false politeness of an Indian court; which is always less deficient in ceremony than in faith. It was not the interest of Suja ul Dowlat, who, by the villanies of his father, the infamous Seifdar Jung, had become an independent prince, to revive the power of the empire; he therefore declined all connection with the affairs of Ali Gohar. He, however, made him a Nasir of elephants, horses, and half a lack of rupees in money, and insinuated to him to leave his court.

Arrives at Allahabad. Ali Gohar, in this distressed situation, turned towards Allahabad. Mahommed Kuli Chan, at that time, possessed that city and province. Mahommed received the prince with friendship, as well as respect; for, being a man of an enterprizing genius, he entertained great hopes of raising himself with the fortunes of the Shaw Zadda *. After maturely deliberating upon the plan of their future operations, it was resolved,

* Shaw Zadda literally signifies the king's son: a title by which Ali Gohar was distinguished during the life of his father Allumgire Sani.

solved, that, instead of relieving the unfortunate Allumgire from the tyranny of Gazi at Delhi, they should endeavour to possess themselves of the provinces of Bengal and Behar, the revenues of which might enable them to support a sufficient army to restore the power of the empire. Though the Shaw Zadda was the undoubted heir of the empire, yet, to take away every pretence of right from Jaffier Ali Chan, whom the British, on account of his villanies, had raised to the government of Bengal, he obtained a private grant of the subaships of the three provinces from his father at Delhi. A. D. 1764.

Every thing being now concerted, public orders were issued to the neighbouring rajas and fogedars, to repair to the standard of the Shaw Zadda; while Mahommed Kuli Chan raised all the troops of Allahabad. Camgar Chan, one of the principal fogedars of Behar, Pulwan Singh, raja of Budgepoor, Bulbidder, raja of Amati, and many other, both Hindoo and Mahommedan chiefs, obeyed the summons, and joined the prince. Soldiers of fortune, in the mean time, flocked to him from all quarters, so that Ali Gohar found himself soon at the head of sixty thousand men. Attempts the conquest of Bengal.

In the month of the second Ribbi of the year 1173, the Shaw Zadda marched from Allahabad towards Bengal. The particulars of this war are well known. Let it suffice to mention here, that the prince was unsuccessful in all his attempts upon Bengal; and was, at last, obliged to surrender himself to the commander of the British forces, at Geiah in Behar. He received intelligence, soon after, of the assassination of his father at Delhi. He was accordingly proclaimed emperor at Patna; but nothing being done for him by the British, the unfortunate prince found himself obliged to throw himself into the hands Enters that kingdom, and assumes the empire.

 of

A.D. 1764. of Suja ul Dowlat, who, in the absence of Kuli Chan, had seized upon the province of Allahabad. The villany of Suja ul Dowlat did not rest there: he invited Kuli to a conference, and basely assassinated him.

Seized by Suja ul Dowlat.

Suja ul Dowlat having possessed himself of the king's person, closely confined him. He, at the same time, mocked the unhappy man with a farce of royalty, and obliged him to ratify all grants and commissions which might serve his own purposes. Under the sanction of these extorted deeds, Suja ul Dowlat made war upon the neighbouring states, in which, however, he was not very successful. When Cassim Ali was driven from the subaship of Bengal, Suja ul Dowlat joined him, in order to recover his government. He was defeated at Buxar by the British, and the king being, in his flight, left behind him, threw himself a second time under our protection.

Disappointed by the avarice of the British.

He hoped, now, that as Suja ul Dowlat's dominions fell into the hands of the British, in consequence of this victory, that they would confer them upon him. But the unfortunate prince deceived himself. He had no money, and consequently had no friends. Suja ul Dowlat was still possessed of wealth; and the virtue of the conquerors was by no means proof against temptation. They restored to him his dominions, and, by a mere mockery of terms, called injustice by the name of generosity. A small part of the province of Allahabad was allotted to the king for a subsistence, and the infamous son of a still more infamous Persian pedlar enjoys the extensive province of Oud, as a reward for a series of uncommon villanies.—But the transactions of the British Subas in India will furnish

nish materials for a distinct history. We shall not, therefore, break in upon that subject in this place; as to mention them slightly would be, in some measure, detracting from the fame which those GREAT MEN have so unjustly acquired. A.D.1764.

THE PRESENT STATE OF HINDOSTAN.

A.D. 1764.

Reflections on the decline of the empire.

The short sketch which we have given in the preceding History of Hindostan, may serve to throw light on the decline of the great empire of the Moguls in that part of the world. We saw it gradually shrinking into itself, till the race of Timur are, at last, confined within the narrow limits of an insignificant province. It must, however, be allowed, that the uncommon misfortunes of that family proceeded no less from their own weakness than from the villany of their servants. Had a man of parts succeeded the debility of Mahommed's government, the ancient glory of the empire might have been still restored. The revolted subas were not, then, well established in their independence; and the gallant resistance which Abdalla met with, in the reign of Ahmed, shewed that the Moguls could still defend themselves from foreign invasions.

Fallen to pieces by domestic factions.

This, like other great states, fell into pieces, more by domestic factions than by foreign arms. Even the ministers of the unfortunate Mahommed were men of parts; those who managed the affairs of Ahmed were possessed of great abilities; and, in the reign of Allumgire Sani, young Ghazi displayed an uncommon and enterprizing genius. But virtue had fled from the land: no principle of honour, patriotism, or loyalty, remained; great abilities produced nothing but great crimes; and the eyes of indivi-

duals

duals being wholly intent upon private advantage, the affairs of the public fell into ruin and confusion. A.D. 1764.

As from the ruins of the extensive empire of the Moguls, many dependent governments have started up of late years, it may not be improper in this place, to take a cursory view of the present state of Hindostan. To begin with the northern provinces—We have already observed, that Candahar, Cabul, Ghizni, Pishawir, with a part of Moultan and Sind, are under the dominion of Ahmet Abdalla. That prince possesses also, upon the side of Persia, the greatest part of Chorassan and Seistan, and all Bamia, on that of Tartary. Abdalla, in short, reigns over almost all the countries which formed the empire of Ghizni, before it descended from the mountains of Afghanistân to Lahore and Delhi. It is highly probable that, as Kerim Chan has settled the Western Persia, he may soon extend the empire to its ancient boundaries towards the East, and drive Abdalla into Hindostan; so that a third dynasty of kings of India may arise from among the Afghans. Different states rise out of its ruins.

The revenues of Abdalla are very considerable, amounting to about three crores of rupees. But as he is always in the field, and maintains an army of 100,000 horse, to defend himself from the Persians and Tartars, he is in great distress for money. This circumstance obliges him not only to oppress his own subjects, but also to carry his depredations to foreign countries. During the competition of the seven conspirators for the throne of Persia, Abdalla had little to fear from that quarter. But as Kerim Chan has established himself, by the defeat and death of his rivals, it is extremely probable that Abdalla will soon feel, as we have already observed, the weight of his arms, as Chorassan Achmet Abdalla.

and Seistan are properly provinces of the Persian empire.

His political situation.

However, Abdalla is at present at peace with Kerim, and has taken that favourable opportunity for invading Hindostan. He had, in April 1767, defeated the Seiks in three different actions, and advanced to Sirhind, about forty crores from Delhi, with an army of fifty thousand horse. It is supposed that Nigib ul Dowla, who, in the name of the present emperor's son, manages the affairs of Delhi, had, as he himself was hard pressed by the Seiks and Jates, called in Abdalla to take upon him the government. Nigib ul Dowla, by our best intelligence, marched out of the city to meet his ally, with forty thousand men. The armies lay in sight of one another, and they were busy in negotiation, and in settling a plan for their future operations. Abdalla, in the mean time, wrote circular letters to all the princes of India, commanding them to acknowledge him King of Kings, and demanding a tribute. Suja ul Dowlat, in particular, had received a very sharp letter from him, upbraiding him for his alliance with Infidels, and demanding the imperial revenues, which that suba had converted to his own use for some years back.

His character.

Such was the situation of the affairs of Abdalla, by our last accounts from Delhi. This prince is brave and active, but he is now in the decline of life. His person is tall and robust, and inclinable to being fat. His face is remarkably broad, his beard very black, and his complexion moderately fair. His appearance, upon the whole, is majestic, and expressive of an uncommon dignity and strength of mind. Though he is not so fierce and cruel as Nadir Shaw, he supports his authority with no less rigour, and he is by no

means

means less brave than that extraordinary monarch. He, in short, is the most likely person now in India, to restore the ancient power of the empire, should he assume the title of king of Delhi.

The Seiks. The SEIKS border upon the Indian dominions of Abdalla. That nation, it is said, take their name of SEIKS, which signifies DISCIPLES, from their being followers of a certain philosopher of Thibet, who taught the idea of a commonwealth, and the pure doctrine of Deism, without any mixture of either the Mahommedan or Hindoo superstitions. They made their first appearance about the commencement of this century, in the reign of Bahadur Shaw, but were rather reckoned then a particular sect than a nation. Since the empire began to decline, they have prodigiously increased their numbers, by admitting proselytes, of all religions, without any other ceremony than an oath, which they tender to them, to oppose monarchy.

The constitution of their government. The Seiks are at present divided into several states, which in their internal government are perfectly independent of one another, but they form a powerful alliance against their neighbours. When they are threatened with invasions, an assembly of the states is called, and a general chosen by them, to lead their respective quotas of militia into the field; but, as soon as peace is restored, the power of this kind of dictator ceases, and he returns, in a private capacity, to his own community. The Seiks are now in possession of the whole province of Punjaab, the greatest part of Moultan and Sind, both the banks of the Indus, from Cashmire to Tatta, and all the country towards Delhi, from Lahore to Sirhind. They have, of late years, been a great check upon the arms of Abdalla; and, though in

in the course of the last year they have been unsuccessful against that prince in three actions, they are by no means subdued, but continue a severe clog upon his ambitious views in India.

Their chiefs and force. The chief who leads at present the army of the Seiks, is Jessarit Singh; there is also one Nitteh Singh, who is in great esteem among them. They can, upon an emergency, muster 60,000 good horse; but, though in India they are esteemed brave, they choose rather to carry on their wars by surprize and stratagem, than by regular operations in the field. By their principles of religion and government, as well as on account of national injuries, they are inveterate enemies to Abdalla, and to the Rohilla powers.

Rohillas. To the east of the dominions of the republic of the Seiks lie the countries which are possessed by the Rohilla Afghans. Nigib ul Dowla, whose history is comprehended in the preceding sections, is, from his power, as well as from the strength of his councils and his own bravery, reckoned their prince. He possesses the city of Delhi, in the name of the family of Timur, together with a considerable territory around it, on both the banks of the Jumna, and his revenue amounts to one crore of rupees. He publicly acknowledged the unfortunate Shaw Allum, at Allahabad, king, and allows a pension to his son Jewan Bucht, who, without any power maintains a kind of regal dignity at Delhi.

Nigib ul Dowla their chief. Nigib ul Dowla has been known, when hard pressed by his hostile neighbours, to raise 60,000 horse; but his revenues are not sufficient to support one tenth part of that number. He continues to take the field under the name of captain-general of the Mogul empire; and though he has not the power, or perhaps the inclination to assist

sist the king, he keeps up a friendly correspondence with him, and, without any necessity, professes obedience and a shew of loyalty.

Besides Nigib ul Dowla, there are chiefs of the Rohilla race, who are perfectly independent; but when danger presses, they unite with him their forces. The most respectable of their chiefs is Hasiz Rhimut, who possesses a considerable district between the rivers. The next to him, in power, is Doondi Chan; and with him we may number Mutta Hussein, Jacob Ali Chan, Fatte Chan Zurein, and others of less note, who command independent tribes beyond the Ganges to the north of Delhi. Other Rohilla chiefs.

The whole power of the Rohillas may amount to 100,000 horse, and an equal number of infantry, upon an emergency; but these are so wretchedly appointed and ill paid, that they furnish more of ridicule, than they can impress of terror in the field. Their infantry are armed with rockets, pointed with iron, which they discharge in vollies among cavalry, which frighten more with their noise and uncommon appearance, than by the execution which they make. The Rohillas are remarkable for nothing more than their natural antipathy to the Mahrattors, which might be turned to advantage by the British in their future views upon Hindostan: but the truth is, that the Hindoos and Mahommedans so equally balance one another in that country, that by supporting one, we may, with great facility, command both. Their force

There is a small government of the Pattans to the east of the Rohilla tribes. Their district is bounded by the dominions of the present king, by those of Sujah ul Dowlat, and by the territories of the Jates. The capital of this petty principality is Ferochabad, which is situated upon the banks Principality of Ferochabad.

banks of the Ganges, a few crores above the ruins of the celebrated city of Kinnoge. Ahmed Chan Bunguish who made a great figure against Seifdar Jung, the father of Suja ul Dowlat, rules over this district. Ahmed is more distinguished by his abilities and personal bravery, than by the extent of his power. His revenues do not exceed fifty lacks; but he always keeps a standing force of two or three thousand good horse, which he pays well; and upon an emergency, he raises all his vassals, who consist of about 20,000 men. His country is full of forts; and he has, consequently been hitherto able to defend himself against the Mahrattors, Jates, and Suja ul Dowlat, who have respectively invaded his dominions.

The Jates. The city of Agra, and a very considerable tract of country round it, extending along the Jumna, from forty crores below that city to within five of Delhi, and stretching back to Gualier and Barampulla, are now in the hands of a Hindoo nation called the Jates. The raja, who commands the Jates, is descended of the ancient race of the Jits, who possessed the banks of the Indus, as far back as the reign of Mahmood of Ghizni. From their prince, the whole body of the Jates, though made up of many distinct tribes and sects, take their name; but others, with less probability, trace it to JATE, which in the Hindoo language signifies a labourer.

Their origin. The Jates made no figure in the Mogul empire, as a nation, till the reign of Allumgire, commonly known in Europe by the name of Aurungzebe. In that monarch's expedition to the Decan, they were first heard of as a gang of banditti, under an intrepid fellow, called Chura Mun. They were then so daring as to harass the

the rear of the imperial army. After the death of Allumgire, the Jates took advantage of the growing imbecility of the empire, and fortifying themselves among the hills of Narvar, spread their depredations to the gates of Agra. Mokun Singh, who, after the death of Chura Mun, commanded the Jates, took upon himself the title of raja. Their power increased under Bodun Singh and Sourage Mull, which last was dignified with titles from the emperor.

Joahar Singh, the son of Sourage Mull, now reigns over the Jates, and is a very weak prince. His revenues do not exceed two crores of rupees; his dominions, like the rest of India, being harassed by the Mahrattors. He may, upon some occasions, be able to bring into the field sixty or seventy thousand men, but he cannot keep long in pay one third of that number. The dominions of the Jates abound with strong fortresses, such as Dieg, Cumbere, and Aliver; in one of which their prince frequently resides, though he spends the most part of his time at Agra. Present state.

To the south-west of the Jates, Mudoo Singh, an Indian raja, possesses a very considerable territory, and resides for the most part at Joinagur. He is the son of Joy Singh, a prince famous for his knowledge in astronomy, and other mathematical sciences. He entertained above a thousand learned brahmins for some years, in rectifying the kalendar, and in making new tables for the calculation of eclipses, and for determining the longitude and declination of the stars.—The revenues of Mudoo Singh are not very considerable, being reckoned only eighty lacks; his dominions being woody, mountainous, and consequently ill cultivated. He can, however, raise forty thousand men; and he himself is esteemed a good soldier. Raja of Jionagur.

Bordering

Marwar. Bordering upon Mudoo Singh, upon the frontiers of the Decan, is the extensive country of Marwar, ruled at present by Bija Singh, the son of Bucht Singh, and grandson of Jetsawind Singh. Marwar, when the empire was in a flourishing condition, yielded annually five crores of rupees: at present its revenues do not amount to half that sum, on account of the incessant depredations of the Mahrattors, its next neighbours.

Odipour. The next Hindoo government to Marvar is that of Odipour. The raja of this country is distinguished by the name of Rana. That prince, more from his nobility of family than from his power, assumes a superiority over all the rajas of Hindostan. His dominions were formerly very extensive, but, of late years, they have been circumscribed within narrower bounds. His territories abound with mountains and forests, and are almost surrounded by the kingdoms of Malava and Guzerat. His revenues are inconsiderable, and he cannot bring into the field above fifteen thousand men.—In the vallies between the mountains of Oudipour, there are many petty independent rajas: Bundi, Cottu, Rupnagur, Jesselmere, and Bianere, being governed by their respective princes, each of whom can muster six or eight thousand men.

Mahrattors. The Mahrattors are the most considerable Hindoo power in Hindostan. The principal seat of their government is Sattarah, and sometimes Puna, on the coast towards Bombay. Though the genuine Mahrattors all over India do not exceed 60,000 men, yet, from their superior bravery and success in depredation, thousands of all tribes enlist themselves under their banners. These, instead of pay, receive a certain proportion of the plunder. By this means an army of Mahrattors increases like a river the farther it advances;

advances; so that it is no uncommon thing for a force of ten or twelve thousand genuine Mahrattors to grow into 100,000, before they arrive in the place which they destine to plunder.

Their chiefs and conquest.

The present chief of the Mahrattors is Ragenot Raw, the son of Bagiraw. He possesses one half of Guzerat, and all the territories between that province and the Decan. He has, of late years, extended his conquests to all the provinces of Malava, and to a part of Allahabad; having reduced Himmut Singh, raja of Gualier, Anarid Singh, raja of Badawir, Anarid Singh, of Chunderi, and the princes of Dittea, Orcha, Elechpoor, Bandire, and Jassey; all of whom have become tributary to the Mahrattors. They have, moreover, possessed themselves of Orissa, which ought, in propriety, to be annexed to the subaship of Bengal, according to the late grant of the king to the British. Thus the dominions of the Mahrattors extend quite across the peninsula of India, from the bay of Bengal to the gulph of Cambait or Cambay.

Their revenues.

The amount of the revenues of the Mahrattors cannot easily be ascertained. They must, however, be very considerable. They subsist their armies by depredations on their neighbours, and are become the terror of the East, more on account of their barbarity then their valour. They never want a pretence for hostilities. They demand the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of any province; and, in case of a refusal, they invade, plunder, and lay waste the country. Their horses being very hardy, their incursions are sudden, unexpected, and dreadful. They generally appoint a place of rendezvous, and their invasions are carried on by detached parties. Should a considerable force at any time oppose them, they decline coming to action; and, as

they

they invigorate their hardy horses with opium, their flight like their incursions, is very expeditious.

Forces. The armies of the Mahrattors do not, like the troops of other Indian powers, incumber themselves with bazars or markets. They trust for their subsistence to the countries through which they march. They are armed with firelocks, some with match-lock guns, and others with bows, spears, javelins, swords and daggers. They have, within three years back, made some advances towards forming a disciplined army of infantry. They have, accordingly, at present, ten or twelve battalions of Seapoys, uniformly cloathed and armed.—All the powers of India being now sensible of the advantages which the British have gained by disciplined infantry, turned their thoughts to a similar regulation in their armies, and to improve their artillery, which was formerly too unwieldy and ill-mounted to be of any service in the field.

Bundelcund. To the east of Malava, and to the south of Allahabad, is the country of Bundelcund, governed by Hindoput. His territories are of a considerable extent and very fertile, and he moreover draws great wealth from his diamond mines of Hieragur and Punagur. He also claims a right to the mines of Sommelpour, but another raja possesses them at present.—The annual revenues of Hindoput amount to near two crores of rupees, including the profits arising from the mines. These he farms out to merchant-adventurers, who purchase a certain number of superficial feet of ground, and they are permitted to dig down perpendicularly as far as they please. Diamonds beyond a certain weight are the property of the prince, who has inspectors to superintend the works.

The

The raja of Bundlecund possesses the impregnable fortress of Callinger, and several other considerable strong holds. He has, notwithstanding, been obliged to compound for a certain tribute with the Mahrattors, who generally paid him an annual visit. Between Bundlecund and Cattack, in Orissa, lie the rajaships of Patna and Sommelpour, which are not very considerable; the country being mountainous, woody, and unhealthy, and the inhabitants barbarous in every respect. Its raja tributary to the Mahrattors.

Part of the province of Allahabad is now possessed by SHAW ALLUM, by birthright and title, though nothing less so in power, emperor of Hindostan. He keeps the poor resemblance of a court at Allahabad, where a few ruined omrahs, in hopes of better days to their prince, having expended their fortunes in his service, still exist the ragged pensioners of his poverty, and burden his gratitude with their presence. The districts of Korah and Allahabad, in the king's possession, are rated at thirty lacks, which is one half more than they are able to bear. Instead of gaining by this bad policy, that prince, unfortunate in many respects, has the mortification to see his poor subjects oppressed by those who farm the revenue, while he himself is obliged to compound with the farmers for half the stipulated sum. Besides the revenue arising from Allahabad and Korah, which we may at a medium estimate at twelve lacks, the British pay to the king twenty-six lacks out of the revenues of Bengal; which is all Shaw Allum possesses to support the dignity of the imperial house of Timur.—It may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the public, to delineate, in this place, the character of that unfortunate prince. Shaw Allum the present Mogul.

SHAW ALLUM is robust in his person, and about six feet high. His complexion is rather His character.

darker, than that which was common to the race of Timur, and his countenance is expressive of the melancholy which naturally arose from his many misfortunes. He possesses personal courage; but it is of the passive kind, and may be rather called fortitude to bear adversity, than that darring boldness which loves to face danger.—He has been so often dismounted in the course of ambition, that he now fears to give it the rein; and seems less desirous to make any efforts to retrieve the power of his family, than to live quietly under the shadow of its eclipsed majesty.—His clemency borders upon weakness, and his good-nature has totally subverted his authority. He is daily induced, by importunity, to issue out orders which he takes no means to enforce, and which, he is certain, will not be obeyed. From this blemish in the character of Shaw Allum, arose the half of his misfortnnes; for the great secret of establishing authority, is to give no orders which cannot be inforced, and rather to suffer small injuries, than shew resentment without the power of punishing.

His generosity is more than equal to his abilities, and two ofen ill bestowed. He is too much addicted to women, and takes more pains to maintain his haram than to support an army.—But though we cannot call him a great prince, we must allow him to be a good man. His virtues are many; but they are those of private life, which never appear with lustre upon a throne. His judgment is by no means weak; but his passions are not strong; the easiness of his temper is therefore moulded like wax by every hand; and he always gives up his own better opinion for those of men of inferior parts. —He is affable in his conversation, but seldom descends to pleasantry. Upon the whole, though Shaw

Shaw Allum is by no means qualified to restore a lost empire, he might have maintained it with dignity in prosperous time, and transmitted his name, as a virtuous prince, to posterity. It is with great regret that the author, from his regard to truth, cannot speak more favourably of a prince, to whom his gratitude and attachment are due, for repeated testimonies of his esteem and friendship.

Suja ul Dowlat.

The territories of Suja ul Dowlat, who possesses the province of Oud, border upon those of the king. His revenues amount to near two crores of rupees, out of which he pays nothing to the emperor, though he pretends to recognize his title as his sovereign. Since his defeat at Buxar, Suja ul Dowlat attends very much to the discipline of his army, and the proper regulation of his finances. He has already formed ten battalions of sepoys, and has made great improvements in his artillery. When the news of Abdalla's late invasion came, he levied twelve thousand horse, upon a better footing than is generally practised in Hindostan. He is now the ally of the British in India, and as his revenues will never enable him to support himself in the field against them, it is probable his principle of fear, for he has none of honour or gratitude, will make him stand to the letter of the treaty.

His character.

Suja ul Dowlat is extremely handsome in his person; about five feet eleven inches in height, and so nervous and strong, that, with one stroke of the sabre he can cut off the head of a buffalo. He is active, passionate, ambitious; his penetrating eye seems, at first sight, to promise uncommon acuteness and fire of mind: but his genius is too volatile for depth of thought; and he is consequently more fit for the manly exercises of the field, than for deliberation in the closet.—

 Till

Till of late he gave little attention to business. He was up before the sun, mounted his horse, rushed into the forest, and hunted down tigers or deer till the noon of day. He then returned, plunged into the cold bath, and spent his afternoons in the haram among his women.—Such was the bias of Suja ul Dowlat's mind till the late war. Ambitious without true policy, and intoxicated with the passions of youth, he began a wild career, in which he was soon checked. Stung with the loss of reputation, his passions have taken another course. His activity is employed in disciplining his army, and he now spends more time at the comptoir of his finances, than in dallying with the ladies of the seraglio. His authority therefore, is established, his revenues increased, and his army on a respectable footing. But with all his splendid qualities, he is cruel, treacherous, unprincipled, deceitful: carrying a specious appearance purposely to betray, and when he embraces with one hand, will stab with the other to the heart. Together with being heir to the fruits of his father's crimes, he inherits all his latent baseness of mind; for, if we except personal courage, he possesses not one virtue more than Seifdar Jung.

The province of Oud is situated to the north-east of the Ganges, bordering upon Behar, from which it is, on the one side, divided by the river Deo, or Gagera, and on the other by the Carumnassa. The country is level, well cultivated and watered. It is divided, on the north, by a chain of mountains from Thibet. In the vallies, which intersect that immense ridge of hills, there are several independent rajas, too inconsiderable to be formidable to Suja ul Dowlat.

The provinces of Bengal and Behar are possessed by the British East-India company, in reality, by the right of arms, though, in appearance, by a grant from the present emperor. This is not a proper place to enter into particulars concerning those provinces: it may suffice to observe, that Bengal and Behar, including what is called the company's lands and duties upon merchandize, yielded in April 1766, 33,025,968 sicca rupees. The expences of government, the tribute to the king, and a pension to a nabob, set up on account of the villanies of his father, amounted to 22,450,000 rupees, and consequently the balance in favour of the company was 10,575,968 rupees, or 1,321,994l. 15s. of our money.—The British force in Bengal consists of three battalions of Europeans, and thirty of sepoys, regularly armed, disciplined, and uniformly cloathed; so that we are much superior, even upon that establishment, to any other power at present in Hindostan. Bengal.

In the Decan the British are almost as powerful as in Bengal. We support Mahommed Ali, as nabob of the Carnatic, and he defrays the expence of our army in defence of his own country. There is, in a manner, no separate interest between the nabob and the company. It is from him they derive their consequence in the Carnatic, and it is by their force he is maintained in his government. Mahommed, till of late, kept in pay a body of troops, which, from their expence and want of discipline, he has been prevailed upon to reduce to a small number. His nabobship being guarantied to him, by the late definitive treaty between Great Britain and France, he possesses a greater security of power than any other prince in Asia. The character of Mahommed has recommended Nabob of Arcot.

 him

him so much to the present Mogul, that that prince has given him a perpetual grant of the government of that immense country, extending from the river Christna to cape Comorin.

His character. Mahommed Ali Chan is five feet ten inches high; well proportioned, and of an engaging aspect. His eye is full, lively and penetrating; his features are expressive of sensibility and a noble disposition of mind. His manner attaches the stranger to him; and commands the friend. The first rarely sees him, without feeling an immediate interest in his welfare; and the latter has never been known to desert him. Calm, affable, and full of dignity, he has improved the elevated passions of the Asiatic, with what is amiable in the character of the European. The duplicity of the east is lost in the good heart of Mahommed. He is possessed of ambition, without any one of those vices, which too frequently attend that passion; and his policy is never unworthy of the magnanimity of a virtuous prince—"A great man," says Mahommed Ali, "may conceal his sentiments, but ought "never to deceive. It was my fortune to place "the way of rectitude before me, in my youth, "and I never deviated into the paths of decep-"tion. I met the British with that openness, "which they love; and it is my honour, as well "as security, to be the ally of a nation com-"posed of princes." This was his declaration at the conclusion of the late war, when he was put in peaceable possession of the Carnatic; and these were his sentiments when, at the head of his father's army, he rejected the offers of France, and saved the very being of the company, by raising the siege of Fort St. David.

Mahommed has frequently experienced the successive extremes of fortune; and that cir-

cumstance

cumstance has manifestly affected his spirits. A similar solicitude of situation with other nabobs who have fallen sacrifices to their own ambition, or the iniquitous avarice of Europeans, has impressed an affecting melancholy on his mind. His joy is consequently, at times, the more exquisite; and the appearance of a friend, in whom he could confide in his distress, has been known to overwhelm him more than the loss of a battle. The greatest encomium upon his character, is his being able to have struggled, with success, during the space of eighteen years, against the avaricious and revengeful passions of Europeans, without losing his dominions, or forfeiting his faith to the British nation.—Mahommed has five sons. They are instructed in the languages and manners of Europe; and from their natural genius and education they promise, one day, to make a figure in India.

The author of this history is indebted, for the above character of Mahommed, to a person who had a perfect view of the original. That prince is so well known and so much esteemed in Europe, that the cursory mention made of him, was a great defect in the first edition. The author, though no stranger to Mahommed's merit and situation, was not perfectly informed; and he chose to pass slightly over a character, which he could not delineate either from personal knowledge or certain intelligence from others. The Carnatic has lately been an important scene of war; and the circumstance of the nabob of Arcot being the first Asiatic prince who had his dominions guarantied to him in Europe, renders him an object of public attention, exclusive of his unsullied reputation, for honour and fidelity to the British nation.

The power of the Nizam, who resides at Hydrabad, though he possesses all the province of Nizam.

 Golconda,

Golconda, is, of late, very much circumscribed. He, however, still maintains an army of 60 or 70,000 men; but without discipline, and ill paid, they are by no means formidable. He, some time ago, entered into a treaty with the British, but he has of late shewn no disposition to adhere to it long.

Hyder Naig, now known by the name of Hyder Ali.

Hyder-Naig, a soldier of fortune, who, by his personal merit, raised himself from a low station to the sovereignty of almost all the coast of Malabar, has by his abilities in the cabinet, as well as by his valour in the field, rendered himself extremely formidable to the British in Hindostan. The character which the author received of him in India enabled him to foretel, in the preceding edition, the figure which he has since made; though no man could foresee the dispirited politics of our councils on the coast. After managing the war with uncommon abilities, Hyder, by a stroke of generalship, obtained a peace, which our manifest superiority had no excuse to grant. As the last desperate push of his fortunes, he turned the rear of our armies, and presented himself before Madras. We were alarmed, as if his horse had wings to fly over our walls. We complied with his insolent demands; and our army, which was in full march after him, was ordered not to advance a step. Friendship was made with the lion, for bravely struggling when he found himself entangled in the toils.

A current of many victories will not be able to wash away the stain which this treaty has affixed to the British character in India. The peace however which we obtained will not be lasting. Hyder, who has some title to the name of Ali, or the *sublime*, which he has assumed, has already turned his arms against the Mahrattors; and, by the last advices from Puna, he has worsted these marauders in several engage-

Hyder Ally.

ments. They are, however, on account of their numbers and their predatory manner of war, very formidable to Hyder; and, in spite of all his efforts, they wasted his dominion when they durst not meet him face to face on the field. Their force, according to the best accounts, consists of 60,000 horse, 65,000 foot, 10,000 for the use of the artillery, and 400 elephants.

The low state of Hyder-Ali's finances, and the ravages committed in his dominions, induced him, in January 1770, to offer even to purchase a peace at the enormous expence of two millions five hundred thousand pounds of our money. This sum was rejected by Madeo-Raw, the chief of the Mahrattor aristocracy, who absolutely refused to close with any terms, till Hyder-Ali should evacuate all his conquests on the coast of Malabar. Hyder would not comply with these exorbitant demands, and, in the mean time, took his measures so well, that he has hemmed in, by the last accounts, the immense army of the Mahrattors in a sweep of the river Tungbudra.

In the month of March 1770, the Mahrattor army was in this disastrous situation. They had scarce a month left to determine their fate, as their provisions were gradually decreasing, and the rains swelling the rivers apace. Hyder, in the mean time, by his emissaries, fomented divisions in their camp. There arose great dissentions among their chiefs, as is generally the case in every nation when the affairs of the public are in an untoward situation. The common soldiers in particular, together with many leaders, remonstrated against the confinement of Raja-Baw, the uncle of the commanding prince. Hyder, by his public declarations, abets the faction; he exalts to the skies the abilities of Raja-Baw, and pretends to fear his enlargement. This piece of political art and refinement has had its effect;

and

and if it does not occasion a revolution in the Mahratta state, it will, at least, bring Hyder with reputation out of a very destructive war with those marauders.

Nor does Hyder-Ali confine his thoughts to the trophies of the field. He has extended his ambition with success to the cabinets of the neighbouring powers. By intrigues in the court of the Nizam he has raised his brother to the command of that prince's armies; so that a revolution in Golconda seems to roll within his mind.

His character. Hyder-Ali is an extraordinary character, even in a country where men have an ample field for the exertion of great talents. With all the vigour of his councils he can neither read or write; but these qualifications are not essential to a military genius, nor can learning give strength of mind. He is possessed of a surprising memory, deep penetration, quickness of resolution, great perseverance, conduct aided by personal courage, and that inexorable temper of mind, whether from policy or disposition, that never forgives a crime. In his *durbar*, where he smokes his Hucca, he pronounces sentence of death by waving his hand; or if he uses words upon the occasion, they are only these—Take him away! He thinks no more of the subject, but proceeds coolly to other business. Notwithstanding this summary kind of barbarous justice, his decisions are generally equitable: he is feared, obeyed, and beloved.

Observations. If men are justly said to be conquered first in their own imaginations, they are certainly kept in subjection by the means which reduced them to obedience. The circumstance which threw the discipline of Europe into our hands, enabled us to subdue the Indians with their own domestic force; and they ascribed to our abilities, what was

was the result of accident. Had our address in the cabinet continued to us the reputation which our arms had acquired in the field, the observations which the first edition of this Work conveyed concerning the conquest of India, could not be deemed either visionary or impracticable. The charm is now broke; Hyder-Ali has discovered that we are not invincible; and that knowledge is of itself sufficient to circumscribe our power. It cannot, however, be altogether out of place to continue to the public the opinions which the author had formed to himself in the year 1767, from an accurate survey of the political state of India, at that period.

Thus have we, in a few words, endeavoured to give a general idea of the present state of Hindostan. The reflections which naturally arise from the subject, might swell this work into a volume. It is apparent, however, from what has been said, that the immense regions of Hindostan might be all reduced by a handful of regular troops.—Ten thousand European infantry, together with the sepoys in the company's service, are not only sufficient to conquer all India, but with proper policy, to maintain it, for ages, as an appendage of the British crown.—This position may, at first sight, appear a paradox to people unacquainted with the genius and disposition of the inhabitants of Hindostan; but to those who have considered both with attention, the thing seems not only practicable, but easy. General reflections.

That slavery and oppression, which the Indians suffer from their native princes, make the justice and regularity of a British government appear to them in the most favourable light. The great men in the country have no more idea of patriotism, than the meanest slaves; and the people can have no attachment to chiefs whom they regard as tyrants. Soldiers of fortune are so

numerous

numerous in India, that they comprehend one fourth of the inhabitants of that extensive country. They are never paid one third of the stipulated sum by the princes of Hindostan, which renders them mutinous and discontented; but they would most certainly approve themselves obedient, faithful, and brave, in the service of a power who should pay them regularly.

In a country like India, where all religions are tolerated, the people can have no objection to the British, on account of theirs. The army might be composed of an equal number of Mahommedans and Hindoos, who would be a check upon one another, while a small body of Europeans would be a sufficient check upon both. The battalions ought to be commanded altogether by European officers, who, if they do their duty properly, and behave with justice to their men, may attach them to their persons, with stronger ties than any troops born in Europe. But if justice is not observed to soldiers, human nature in this, as in all countries, will and must revolt against oppression.

At present, the black officers of the sepoys must rise from the ranks. This is sound policy, and ought to be continued. Men of family and influence are deterred, by this circumstance, from entering into the service. These officers are, therefore, entirely our creatures, and will never desert a people, among whom alone they can have any power; for no acquired discipline will give weight to a mean man, sufficient to bring to the field an army of Indians.

The advantages of a conquest of Hindostan to this country are obvious. It would pay as much of the national debt as government should please to discharge. Should the influx of wealth raise the price of the necessaries and conveniences of life, the poor, on the other hand, by being eased of

of most of their taxes, would be more able to purchase them.—But, say some grave moralists, how can such a scheme be reconciled to justice and humanity?—This is an objection of no weight.—Hindostan is, at present, torn to pieces by factions. All laws, divine and human, are trampled under foot.—Instead of one tyrant, as in the times of the empire, the country now groans under thousands; and the voice of the oppressed multitude reaches heaven. It would, therefore, be promoting the cause of justice and humanity, to pull those petty tyrants from the height to which their villanies have raised them, and to give to so many millions of mankind a government founded upon the principles of virtue and justice.—The task is no less glorious than it is practicable; for it might be accomplished with half the blood which is often expended in Europe upon an ideal system of a balance of power, and in commercial wars, which must be attended with little éclat, as they are destitute of striking and beneficial consequences.

END OF VOL. II.

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